

DOING
ARCHIVAL RESEARCH
IN
POLITICAL SCIENCE



Scott A. Frisch, Douglas B. Harris,
Sean Q Kelly, and David C.W. Parker

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EDITED BY

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DOING ARCHIVAL RESEARCH IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

INTRODUCTION

TAKING THE ROAD LESS TRAVELED

*Scott A. Frisch, Douglas B. Harris,
Sean Q Kelly, and David C. W. Parker*

In the discipline of history, archival research is common. In political science, it is not. Students majoring in history, and certainly history graduate students, are exposed to the practice, and academic historians routinely use archival sources in their research. This is not the case for political science students or scholars. In fact, in political science, the term *archive* is most often preceded by the word *data*, indicating an electronic repository of (usually) quantitative data.

This book is aimed at political scientists. We simultaneously intend to advocate for as well as to illustrate and instruct the “how to” of archival research. In particular, we hope to reach graduate students in political science who, lacking the pressures of the tenure track, have a unique

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opportunity to explore different—and, we argue, more innovative and fruitful—approaches to research. But we also hope to reach intrepid junior faculty and even more senior political scientists who are interested in expanding their approach to the study of politics and traversing a road less traveled.

In conceiving this book, we hope to produce a volume that we wish had existed when we first started working with archival collections. All of us were “classically” trained political scientists, which is to say that we had no training in archival research and rarely heard archives mentioned in political science circles. We each found our way into archival research, but we each faced a steep learning curve and little to no direction written from the perspective of political science. We also encountered mostly skeptical colleagues who were hardly models of encouragement. We hope this book will be helpful to scholars before they hit that steep learning curve, offering the necessary encouragement to them to follow a road that few political scientists, at this point, have dared to travel.

WHAT ARE ARCHIVES?

Broadly speaking, archives are collections of records—both paper and electronic records—that are generated by, and reflect the efforts of, an individual, organization, or institution. The archival records that we discuss in this volume have been generated by politicians, political organizations, and political institutions.

Archives are more than the boxes of papers one keeps in one’s garage, however. They are records that have been judged, usually by an archivist, as being worthy of preservation; they are considered to contain information that may be important for understanding some aspect of the human experience. In short, someone has decided that the records are important enough to be stored in controlled conditions and that the public should have access to them.

Once the decision is made to preserve a collection, the next step (usually before providing access) is to describe the collection. It is the role of the archivist to create order out of chaos—that is, to process the collection. An archivist needs to survey the collection to gain an understanding of the scope of the collection (e.g., what years it covers and what topics are represented in the records). From a researcher's point of view, this is important for determining whether material in the collection might be useful for a research project. Usually an archivist will also summarize the contents and report the provenance of the collection, or how it was generated and how it arrived in the repository.

Collections are rarely in an order that makes them easy for researchers to use. Boxes and files are not neatly arranged for easy access. An archivist is responsible for processing a collection. This involves (to a greater or lesser extent) putting boxes and files together into topical order—that is, arranging like materials into groups or series. The degree to which archivists impose order—often chronological—on a collection is a matter of scholarly debate within their field, but imposing some order is the result of arranging the materials.

Archivists are also responsible for creating a finding aid: a written list of the records that helps the researcher in locating materials within a collection of documents. At a minimum, a finding aid will describe the kinds of documents that are included in each box. Finer-grained finding aids will list the titles of the folders in each box (usually titles that were on the original folders or titles that the archivist assigns to a folder), providing some insight into the documents within the folder. In some cases (the best case from the researcher's perspective), archivists will add further description of the documents contained in the folder.

Once a collection is processed, it is made available to researchers. Access to the records is controlled by the archivist, subject to the policies of the repository and the donor's restrictions. The archivist is now the vital link between the researcher and the subject of the research.

Because there are many collections, and many of them are very large, not all collections are fully processed (from the researcher's point of view). Repositories must make choices about whether to process a collection, which collections to process, and how many resources to dedicate to a collection. As a result, the quality and detail involved in processing a collection will vary from collection to collection. However, this can be partially overcome as the researcher develops more experience working with collections; one begins to develop a sort of "sixth sense" with regard to them.

Archival collections are located everywhere: from the Library of Congress to university libraries to government agencies at federal, state, and local levels to even private corporations. Some manuscript collections are held in family or private custody. Finding archives, however, can take some work because there is no one central depository listing all of the archival collections. The two most complete lists of archival collections are Proquest's Archive Finder, which is a "directory of over 5,750 repositories and over 206,000 collections of primary source material housed across the United States and the United Kingdom," and the Northwest Digital Archives, containing "access to descriptions of primary sources in the Northwestern United States."¹ Finally, those scholars who are interested in studying Congress should consult the *Congressional Biographical Directory*, which contains information on the research collections of individuals serving in the House and Senate.² Users need simply to input the name of the member and click on the research tab. This will reveal whether papers for the member exist, where they are located, and some brief information on the size and scope of each collection. There are archives, in short, for every breed of researcher containing every kind of material imaginable. They offer limitless research opportunities that depend only upon the imagination of the researcher, the time he or she has to do research, and the size of the research grant he or she may have. Nevertheless, before embarking on archival research, one should proceed with eyes wide open. There are challenges and pitfalls to consider, and it is to those we now turn.

REASONS NOT TO DO ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

In a book partly aimed at encouraging archival research, it may seem counterintuitive to provide a section on the reasons to avoid it. We do not mean to discourage archival research but to promote it by addressing the common sources of hesitation that many readers may have about undertaking such work.

Reason One: This May Not Generate Publishable Findings

Archival research is time-consuming. Many hours and even days will be invested traveling to archives and collecting documents. Many more hours may be spent putting together a data set or constructing a usable interpretation of events based on the documents. What if, after all of this effort, one is confronted with a computer screen full of null findings? What if one does not find anything?

This is a fair concern. But, it is equally likely that if one invests considerable time constructing a data set of similar scope from easily available, previously published data, one faces the same prospect: having spent many hours and days constructing a data set, only to be left with a heap of equally difficult-to-publish findings. Most have heard of—or even experienced themselves—the agony of assembling a data set over a considerable length of time (perhaps years), cleaning that data set of errors, writing code for days, only to write a logit routine, press “return,” and presto! Nothing. Zip. Nada. Not a single significant coefficient. In any case, quantitative, qualitative, statistical or not, one can still end up with research that belongs in the venerated *Journal of Null Results*.

So, we doubt that archival research is any more likely to yield null findings than traditional political science research built on quantitative data sets. In fact, we boldly argue that *one is less likely to have null findings when using archival data* (we will even italicize that statement). There are two reasons for this. First, research that uses archival data relies on data that are appropriate for testing political science theories. For instance,

congressional scholars have long used committee assignments as an indicator of members' preferences, the reasoning being that if a member sat on a particular committee, that was the committee on which the member preferred to sit. That is, of course, circular logic, but collecting committee request data, which give insight into members' actual preferences, was considered "too difficult"—until it got done, that is (Frisch and Kelly 2006). Null findings are more likely to result from using inappropriate data—that is to say, using existing data sets that were built to answer different questions than those that most scholars would like to test.

Second, doing archival research (as we argue in the following section) helps with theory building. Direct engagement with the data allows the researcher to explore alternative explanations for null findings, more accurately specify models, refine existing theories, and build more satisfying theories. The result is more interesting, satisfying, and "positive," and thus easier-to-publish, findings. Anyone who is familiar with Richard Fenno's work on Congress—although it is not archival in nature but faces similar challenges and opportunity costs—will easily agree that "thick description" can yield rich theoretical findings. These findings push the discipline in new directions by building as well as testing theories and by describing—in detail—the behavioral reality that is attendant to political institutions and exhibited in politicians' actions and choices.

We are not making any guarantees here. We are simply arguing that the odds, based on logic and experience, favor a more profitable and successful analysis.

Reason Two: The Information Sought May Not Be Found

It is certainly possible that one could make a trip to an archive and find little to no material that bears on one's research question. It is possible. And that would be bad. But it is fairly preventable. Careful work prior to the trip aimed at avoiding the problem will prevent one from making unnecessary trips. The advice offered throughout this book, and especially in chapter 10, will help researchers to avoid fruitless journeys.

But it could and has happened. Parker nearly experienced cardiac arrest on one research trip. He was studying two Senate campaigns—Idaho senator Frank Church’s defeat in 1980 to Congressman Steve Symms and Symms’s near-loss in 1986 to Idaho governor John Evans. The 1980 campaign was well documented in both the Church and Symms archives. The 1986 campaign, however, was not well preserved in the archival record. In particular, the polls commissioned by the Symms campaign in 1985 and 1986 were nowhere to be found in the Symms papers located at the College of Idaho in Caldwell. The polls undertaken by Governor Evans were not located in his papers at the Idaho Historical Society. However, a subsequent interview with Evans’s campaign manager yielded the name of Evans’s pollster, who—fortunately—had kept some of the polls from the 1986 race. Parker received the polling data in the form of a PDF the following day after calling the polling firm directly. The archives informed Parker that polls existed—but he had to go through some additional steps to find them. The lesson is that persistence and creative thinking can overcome a disappointing archival experience.

Remember a piece of advice that nearly every author in this volume offers: keep an open mind. Be open to the serendipity involved in archival research. To paraphrase the Rolling Stones, you may not find what you want, but you find sometimes that you get what you need. As Frisch and Kelly recount briefly in chapter 1, their book on Jimmy Carter was the result of a “failed” trip to the Carter presidential library. By maintaining a broad awareness of the issues that were covered in files related to their topic, they discovered the means to test presidential influence in Congress using new, innovative, and particularly appropriate data.

Reason Three: A Great Deal of Time Is Needed

Archival research requires a time commitment. In our experience, trips average about three days. That is a nontrivial amount of time away from work and family. But one should ask oneself: How many hours in the last year have been spent drinking coffee or having lunch with colleagues? How many hours have been spent in committee meetings? Think about

all the ways time has been wasted at work over the last year. If time can be found for these things, surely time can be found to spend in an archive, with all of the many benefits such an excursion promises, as we describe in the next section.

In short, researchers have the time; it is just a matter of how they choose to spend it. Applying Newton's First Law of Thermodynamics, we can explain this element of resistance to archival research: an ass at rest tends to stay at rest. Political scientists are socialized to believe that some behaviors are more valuable than others. Sitting in front of a computer screen and downloading data sets from the Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research—and spending time testing hypotheses with inappropriate data—is acceptable (thereby keeping the ass at rest); traveling to collect one's own, more appropriate data is a “waste of time.”

Archival travel, actually, is a fantastically efficient use of a researcher's time. Consider the following: A researcher travels to another city in another state, leaving his or her daily responsibilities behind. He or she works in a library—there are no cell phones, no e-mail, no pesky colleagues knocking on the door. The researcher's full attention is devoted to research—something that probably has not been possible since graduate school, especially if one is an amiable, likeable, fun person with a social life. When the archives are closed, the researcher can spend the “down hours” tracking down leads uncovered from the research, conducting interviews, or even working on other projects. Parker has been known to crank out other, more “traditional” political science research projects while he is on the road—where he is far away from his DVD collection and Xbox.

Reason Four: Money Is Needed to Do This Research

Money and time are the two most important resources for doing archival research. Several sources of funding are available. First is the archival repository itself. Many special collections departments have travel stipends available. The Congressional Papers Roundtable

of the Society of American Archivists keeps a list of these funds at <http://www.archivists.org/saagroups/cpr/grants.asp>. It never hurts to ask a repository if they have available funding. Second, many universities have small internal grant funds aimed at supporting research. We have all been successful at finding support this way. Other organizations, such as the Dirksen Center, also support research on a competitive basis.

The good news is that one does not need a lot of money to do archival research; we are not talking about National Science Foundation levels of funding here. A thousand dollars is usually sufficient to fund a trip of a week's duration or more if one is careful with one's budgeting. This may not involve a stay at the Biltmore Hotel, but Holiday Inn Expresses and Fairfield Inns are perfectly clean and respectable places to stay. Some of us have even funded archival travel by simply dipping into our department's travel budget. Indeed, the value of archival research to one's teaching could open up pedagogical or instructional enhancement resources that are available at some colleges and universities to fund research trips to archives. In any event, a supportive department chair or dean can go a long way to advancing the archival researcher's conquests.

One of the benefits of having to hunt for research support is that early-career scholars can begin to build a record of accomplishment. Writing for grants of support and receiving these relatively small amounts of funding provides evidence of research success. Although it is not a full-blown publication, it aids in developing and refining research design, is an indication of research effort (hopefully successfully funded), helps to develop grant-seeking skills, and results in a line on the curriculum vitae. During a period in which a researcher is publishing, grant-seeking helps to fill the "holes" in his or her vita; it indicates that he or she was moving toward a larger goal and not simply playing Mine Sweeper™ in the office.

Reason Five: Colleagues Say It Is a Waste of Time

Some political scientists may describe archival research as a waste of time. First, find out why they think this. Is it the research design or the proposed

use of archival sources? If it is the former, a return to the drawing board may be necessary. If it is the latter—which is more likely—then consider the source of the criticism. Have they ever used archival sources? Are they familiar with any research that uses archival sources? Chances are that they are projecting their own apprehensions and anxieties. Or, they are simply jealous that they will not be able to travel to West Branch, Iowa, for a week at the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library and Museum.

No doubt many colleagues believe that they are offering sage advice; we do not mean to cast aspersions on their motives. But the truth of the matter is that they are not speaking from experience, they are speaking from their casual (nonsystematic) observation of the state of the discipline. In the prebehavioral era of political science, imagine how traditional scholars must have viewed their young colleagues who were conducting surveys and coding congressional roll call votes. More than a few younger scholars must have been discouraged from this work for the very same reasons we are discussing here. Back then, it surely was easier to make another trip over to the library to check out some more books to cite in that new treatise on Aristotle.

If colleagues have reservations about a research design, listen very carefully. If their concern is with the archival approach, listen carefully and test their depth of knowledge; ask them why using existing data is better than collecting one's own, and (most of all) refer them to this book.

FIVE REASONS TO CONSIDER TAKING THE ROAD LESS TRAVELED

Part of our purpose in putting this volume together is to encourage archival research and to smooth scholars' introduction to this mode of research. In contemporary political science, archival research is uncommon; it represents a road less traveled by political scientists. As advocates of archival research, we firmly believe that there are a variety of benefits to taking this road. Some of those benefits are outlined in the following sections.

Reason One: It Will Improve Research

The chapters in the volume are intended both to instruct and to demonstrate that archival research makes a valuable contribution to political science research. In the spirit of methodological pluralism, we focus on both qualitative and quantitative examples. There are qualitative data and quantitative data to exploit in these collections, and new data sources can naturally improve the quality of one's research.

Where archival research takes the researcher beyond simply some new data is in the degree to which the archival research process exposes one to important aspects of process, context, sequence, and timing that are important for theory building, data collection, and hypothesis testing. To be brief (since the chapters illustrate this better than we can here), working through archival records provides a look "behind the curtain" of political processes. Most of political science focuses on behaviors, on outcomes, that are usually the result of a more complex process. Peeking into that ordinarily opaque process can help to build theories of political behavior that are more reflective of the actual political process. Although this may seem to some to be mere description, good theorizing depends on accurate descriptions of political processes.

Wading through the archival record also makes one more aware of the context within which politics happen. Decisions are not made in a vacuum, and decision makers are not singular actors. Researchers often, for good reasons, treat behaviors as if this were the case. They say things like "member X voted this way" or "the president decided to do X," but these decisions were made in a particular context—with a certain understanding of policy choices, political conditions, staff advice, and the like—that produced a unique outcome. Archival research makes one sensitive to variables that may be useful in explaining what produced a particular political outcome. To put it in the terms of quantitative research, knowledge of process and context can improve model specification.

Reason Two: It Will Inform Teaching

Research in the papers of former members of Congress, a presidential library, or some other collection has informed us as teachers and scholars. Each trip provides insight into the institution and the individuals who comprise it that goes well beyond our more narrow research focus. Students often learn best from the tangible, and photocopies of documents provide illustrations of many concepts relating to the topics that we teach. For example, while digging (literally) through the as-yet-unprocessed papers of Representative Bob Livingston (R-LA), Frisch and Kelly discovered several documents, including ones from Ralph Reed and Ari Fleischer proposing communications strategies for Livingston, who was at the time the likely successor to House Speaker Newt Gingrich. The one-page memo from Fleischer to Livingston provides students with an excellent example of the ideas behind message control that pervade contemporary politics. It is one thing to discuss the emphasis on message control and communications strategy; it is quite another when students see concrete evidence from individuals who are powerful actors in the contemporary political process.

The following paragraph from Fleischer's memo to Livingston is a gem that conveys a great deal in a few words:

The way to get a message out is to constantly repeat the mantra. In this case

- Education, locally controlled
- Tax cuts
- A stronger Social Security system
- Economic growth
- Honesty and ethics in government

Literally, this is an eight-second sound bite. I recommend you repeat it *ad nauseum* [*sic*]; only when you're sick of saying it will anyone have heard it.³

For years, political scientists have sought to explain how politicians try to control the agenda through a carefully crafted, concise, and frequently repeated message. This memo, from a future presidential press secretary to a man who nearly became Speaker of the House, captures the essence of political communication in a frank and unguarded memo that can be shared with students.

Other examples of documents found in congressional papers that can be used in the classroom abound. Students are often curious about how members are placed on committees. Copies of letters requesting committee assignments are great ways to illustrate the multiple motivations that members have for pursuing committee assignments. Staff memos can be used to illustrate the important role played by staff as well as the influence of lobbyists and policy analysis in the legislative process, press releases are a great way to illustrate concepts such as credit claiming and position taking, and the actual pages of a marked-up bill can be used when discussing the mark-up process. Polling data from campaigns help students understand campaign strategy, positioning, and the ability (or not) of candidates to communicate effectively to voters. Though we can go on and on, the point is that every trip a researcher makes to an archive provides additional ideas and resources that can be applied in the classroom.

Reason Three: New and Better Data Will Be Introduced

As a field, it sometimes seems that political scientists are focused more on developing new and increasingly sophisticated ways to analyze data than they are on finding appropriate data to answer key questions. It seems that article after article is published in the leading journals consisting of new ways to look at roll call data, campaign spending data, or American National Election Studies data. Casual observation suggests that less emphasis is being placed on efforts to develop better data sets that are more specifically designed to answer the research questions that are being asked.

To take just one example, consider that one of the factors that is seemingly correlated with favorable impressions of incumbents and their reelection is favorable attention received by the media. When an incumbent fails to get favorable coverage, when coverage is lacking, or when challengers successfully garner media attention, this spells trouble for the incumbent and might signal his or her defeat. Often, incumbents blame the media for slanted coverage or inattention—holding them responsible. But this raises a question: Is it the media's fault or the incumbent's inability or unwillingness to seek that coverage? The easy way to test an incumbent's relationship with the media is to search Lexis-Nexis Academic for all of the articles about the incumbent in a state's newspaper (if that newspaper happens to be in Lexis-Nexis). The hard, but better, way is to analyze the member's own efforts to obtain coverage by reviewing the press releases the member chose to send out. That will help one understand how the member wanted to be portrayed and can quickly reveal whether the media did indeed slight or negatively portray the incumbent. Did the member send out many press releases, only to be ignored by the press, or—more likely—did the incumbent have a poorly planned media strategy which simply did not attract much media attention? The data located in archives frequently provide better information to analyze political questions than do much of the easy data one can download with a click of the mouse.

Reason Four: Faulty and Selective Memories Are Less Common

Each data collection method has advantages and disadvantages. We advocate using multiple methods as a way to overcome the drawbacks of using a single methodology. Make no mistake: we all use interviews. Interviews are an extremely valuable method of inquiry in political science. As users of interviews, we have come to see their limitations and to see archival research as a way to improve upon the data that are gathered through personal interviews. One problem that we frequently encounter with interviews, however, is that memories fade. Members of Congress are extremely busy, and the details of decisions that were made months if not years before become blurry. In addition, members often have motiva-

tions to portray their actions in the best possible light, and sitting members may be unwilling to be completely frank in any interview for fear that their statements will make their way into the popular media.

The archival record, in contrast, is often not subject to this problem. Minutes of meetings typically provide a more accurate picture of what occurred than does a single member's account relayed long after the meeting. For instance, Frisch and Kelly interviewed a member of Congress several years ago about his committee assignments. When he was asked about his request to be placed on the Budget Committee in the mid-1980s, he did not recall making that request. The archival record, however, includes significant evidence that he did in fact request assignment to the Budget Committee. It is possible that he forgot; it is also possible that he did not want to provide the impression that he did not have the political "juice" to warrant an assignment to an important committee.

Reason Five: Other Subjects of Research Will Be Uncovered

One of the pure joys of archival research is the unexpected finds and the materials that spark new research questions and directions. During his first trip to Tom Foley's papers, Kelly discovered a large series of whip counts from Foley's time as Democratic Whip. Kelly tucked that little find away as a possible next project (only to discover later that Larry Evans had targeted those data for his own work!).

Whip counts for leadership races are very common in the collections of members who sought leadership positions. Harris (2006) and Green (2007) have made good use of these in their quantitative work on the determinants of leadership selection, as did the authors of *The Austin-Boston Connection* (Champagne, Harris, Riddlesperger, and Nelson 2009), though in a more qualitative and historical examination of intra-party leadership races. Whip counts are also common in the papers of members who whipped on behalf of their own personal policy initiatives (see chapter 1) or committee leaders who sought support for certain positions in committee.

Senator Tom Eagleton's papers included a weekly tally of constituent mail received by the office, broken out by subject. One of the more intractable questions in political science is how constituent views affect member behavior. These data allow for a fine-grained analysis of that very question, and it is very likely that similar data exist in other congressional archives. David Parker, who worked with the Eagleton papers for his project on Senate campaigns, put a note in his research file to possibly explore this project in the future. The possibilities are truly endless.

POTENTIAL WEAKNESSES IN THE ARCHIVAL APPROACH

Over the years, we have heard a number of potential objections to the use of archival data. We would be remiss if we did not present these objections and respond to them.

Reason One: Political Papers Are Sanitized

The most commonly expressed concern is that collections are systematically incomplete—that is, that critical information is missing due to conscious “sanitizing” by donors. Thus, the argument goes, there will be substantial gaps in the archival record that are created before they arrive at a repository. Deliberate removal and destruction of documents is particularly problematic because it introduces the statistical problem known as bias into the collections. Because such sanitation is systematic and not random by definition, it is especially important for users of archival data to consider the data generation process and how such bias may affect attempts at inference. To address the threat of this bias, it is worthwhile to understand how likely the systematic weeding of papers is generally and where bias is most likely to intrude.

Archivists work closely with potential donors before papers arrive at a repository; they negotiate the terms of a gift and, of course, play a critical role in the transfer of these collections to their repositories. As many archivists have noted in their correspondence with us, there are logis-

tical constraints on the ability of a donor to engage in sanitizing records. These collections are often enormous. It would be difficult for donors to comb through hundreds and sometimes thousands of boxes looking for potentially sensitive material in any systematic fashion. Herb Hartsook, the director of South Carolina Political Collections at the University of South Carolina, put it this way: “On the whole, our donors do not appear to sanitize their files. I believe this is because they simply don’t have the time to wade through hundreds of cartons of material” before getting it to the repository.⁴ In the case of politicians who suddenly vacate office or lose reelection, the challenge of sanitizing records would be compounded by the real need to move out of an office and ship off records in just a few weeks. Given that even the best-funded archives are starving for the resources to painstakingly go through these collections, it is unlikely that any organization or politician has the wherewithal to accomplish the same task.

Time and time again, we are surprised (shocked) at the level of frankness that we find in the written record. We also know from our interviews that members and staff are often unaware of the depth and sensitivity of the material that is archived. For example, a series of memos to former senator Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ) from Patty Lynch (legislative assistant for appropriations) is as frank as it is fascinating in the revelations about bureaucratic infighting, unwarranted requests from other senators, and other matters concerning the annual treasury, post office, and general government appropriations bills. The following excerpt captures the frankness of tone that is common throughout the memos:

General theme: we are concerned that Treasury is not paying sufficient attention to its law enforcement bureaus. As a result, Treasury bureaus are treated as unwanted “stepchildren” in law enforcement circles, and Justice, DOD [Department of Defense], and ONDCP [Office of National Drug Control Policy] run rough shod over the bureaus... Treasury is never on the Hill, they have no visibility, and leave lobbying matters to the bureaus... Justice, on the other hand, is everywhere and FBI has a very active and effective legislative

shop. They show up at our mark-ups and conferences and never miss an opportunity. They get in the door early and make deals before Treasury even knows an issue is on the radar screen...If Treasury wants to be taken seriously, this has got to change.⁵

This series of memos is chock full of information that would be difficult to elicit in an interview, but that sheds light on the interactions of Congress and the agencies of the bureaucracy. For virtually every archive we have visited, there are similar examples of frank and informative documentary evidence.

This does not mean that donors are not concerned about potentially embarrassing materials in the papers. But, in the interest of maintaining the integrity of the collection, archivists develop strategies to put donors' minds at ease. Mark Greene, the director of the American Heritage Center at the University of Wyoming, explained,

In my experience, if there is material in a collection that the member [of Congress] (or his/her chief of staff) believes is sensitive as far as the member him/herself is concerned, the inclination is not usually to sanitize it but to negotiate access restrictions on it—at least, that is what every repository seeks to have happen in such instances... members who are particularly sensitive about access to their papers simply do not donate *any* of them to a repository, but instead either keep them in storage or destroy them after leaving office.⁶

In fact, for anyone who was concerned about embarrassing materials, disposing of an entire collection would be the wisest (lowest-cost) choice, rather than investing the massive time and effort that would be involved in going through a collection page by page. Carl Van Ness, an archivist at the George Smathers Library at the University of Florida, summed it up nicely: "I would say that 'sanitization' of political collections is more of a myth than a reality."⁷

Going forward, it is increasingly less likely that new collections will be sanitized for two reasons. First, the advent of computers and e-mail has tremendously increased the size of collections, making the system-

atic deletion and removal of documents even more challenging. Recently retired senator Tom Daschle's papers, housed at South Dakota State University, provide a case in point. The physical material alone accounts for two thousand linear feet—a large collection by any standard. But, in addition to the physical paper contained in the collection, there is an additional terabyte of digital data.⁸ Second, both the Senate and House historical offices have developed detailed guidelines for record management and programs of instruction for staffers of new members. The guidelines and training are designed to train congressional staff in the importance of proper handling, storage, and maintenance of an office's records.⁹ This type of attention to congressional office record keeping is only likely to improve the scope and breadth of records that are maintained for future researchers and, at the very least, mitigate any serious efforts to cleanse records before their donation and preservation.

Reason Two: Political Papers Do Not Reflect Verbal Transactions

There is an old saying in politics: "Why write it down if you can say it? Why say it if you can wink?" The quote is meant to express the feelings of many political operators that one wants to minimize the "paper trail" when it comes to political decisions. Some critics of an archival approach argue that much of the archival record is missing due to the verbal nature of political operators. Are face-to-face discussions and telephone calls excluded from the archival record? In large part they are, but it is not unusual to find memos that summarize discussions or the occasional transcription of a phone call. And, when it comes to particularly important requests—for instance, requests for committee assignments, support for a political proposal, and so forth—both the person making the request and the person receiving it prefer to have it in writing to minimize disputes after the fact. Thus, much of the verbal culture of politics is reflected in the written record. The second face of power—the things that happen behind the scenes and out of public sight—is always hard to observe. Archives are not the perfect answer, but they come closer than nearly any other form

of data to opening up this world by providing the outsider hints and clues about the documented parts of that verbal world. With a solid review of the archival record for glimpses of that verbal world, the researcher will be better informed for interviews with political participants, who can then shed additional light on discussions and actions that are not well documented but only hinted at in the physical archival record. The verbal aspect of politics is hard to fully capture after the fact, and there is no denying it. The only real way to capture this fully is through the method of participant observation, which methodologically has its own challenges, drawbacks, and opportunity costs.

Reason Three: Political Actors Manipulate the Record

Another criticism of relying on archival research that is occasionally offered is that staff and members might purposely put documents into the records that portray themselves in the best possible light. This argument is reminiscent of a scene from the first *Back to the Future* movie. Marty McFly (played by Michael J. Fox) is transported back into the past in his time-traveling DeLorean. In the scene, he seeks to change the future (thus ensuring his future existence) by sending a letter to his future self through the mail.

Setting aside the dubious assumptions of time-travel plots, Marty McFly had a benefit that the generators of political papers do not: perfect information about future outcomes. McFly knew exactly which events were critical to produce a desired future outcome. Members of Congress, political staff, and the like hardly enjoy the same luxury (if they did, Congress would do nothing but produce perfect public policy). In the flow of the congressional workload, and absent the relative omniscience of Marty McFly, it is difficult for members and staff—as it would be for anyone—to know which of their actions, decisions, and related documents will come under the scrutiny of researchers years or decades in the future. Such machinations would also require knowledge of *how* researchers use their records to study topics; most of the politicians and staff that we have interviewed seemed completely mystified by our interest in their papers

and were astonished to learn that there was anything of worth in those boxes.

Are there gaps in the archival record? Absolutely, there are. Upon close examination, all political science data are somehow incomplete. The question is whether the gaps in a researcher's data—in this case, archival data—are systematic. If those gaps are systematic, it is a potential problem; if the gaps are random, they are a nuisance (even a big nuisance), but they do not constitute a fundamental problem. And, we argue, there are means by which a researcher can fill these gaps.

Why are there gaps in the archival record? It may be not so much for nefarious reasons, but for perfectly explainable ones, as Mark Greene explained:

Gaps in the collections occur primarily because of inconsistent record-keeping (including the destruction of inactive records taking valuable storage space in the attics of Congressional office buildings; destroyed simply because the office no longer needed them and no archival repository had yet contacted the member to explain the value of some of those records) and deliberate appraisal by the repository (either carried out prior to transfer by the office, at the advice of the repository, or carried out at the repository after transfer).¹⁰

There are three likely sources of systematic bias in the archival records. The first are the decisions that are made at archival repositories (appraisal). Libraries face difficult choices about which collections and what material to maintain in the context of limited resources; one of the main limiting factors is the space to house political collections. According to Leigh McWhite, a political papers archivist at the University of Mississippi,

Repositories are...making tough decisions about whether they have the space and resources to store entire congressional collections...a number of archives are choosing to reject or to destroy selected series within a collection, like case files or academy

appointments, because of privacy and confidentiality issues and because of calculations on researcher use versus scarcity of space and financial resources.¹¹

Archivists, however, do not have a stake in advancing or protecting the reputation of a member or his or her staff. The decisions they make to keep or dispense with materials adhere to carefully developed standards of the profession and are therefore unlikely to create the systematic gaps that introduce bias which would undermine the development of descriptive inference.

The second source of bias concerns the political papers within congressional papers. These often contain the personal and campaign papers of the member and are often produced by the member or his or her campaign staff. The source of the bias, however, is unlikely to be pernicious. The world of campaigns is transitory by its very nature, and once a campaign is over, records are often simply trashed en masse. Campaign staffers come and go, likely taking some of the campaign records with them. The records of campaigns are the ones that are most likely to be incomplete and exhibit gaps, but the nature of the missing record is likely due to natural processes rather than to some systematic effort to delete particular records while leaving others behind. That said, the most important documents—such as polls, targeting memos, and the like—are often distributed among key campaign staffers as well as to the member's upper-echelon congressional staff. It is these memos—which are the most important for the researcher—that are the most likely to survive the campaign process intact. Parker has found copies of polls and campaign memos scattered throughout collections, sometimes in the political papers of a member, at other times in the papers of congressional staff members who had no “official” role in the campaign.

The third source of bias is papers missing from the collection outright because a staff member took them when departing the member's employ. Former staffers may decide to retain these records themselves, but they often donate them separately to the archives. Two ways to avoid this

problem is to carefully review congressional staff directories, develop a list of key staff members, search the member's and other collections for staff member papers, and—if the staff member is still living—contact the member directly in order to gain access to these papers.

Although bias can certainly be introduced into congressional collections, understanding the potential sources of those biases can help mitigate their effects. Archival collections do not provide a complete account of a member's career or a particular political moment or process, but neither do other sources of data. Paying careful attention to what an archival collection contains and what it does not pushes an investigator to consider other sources of information that may be available to fill in the information gaps.

Coping with “Missing Data”

There is another saying in politics: “Don't let the perfect be the enemy of the good.” Would it be “perfect” if any and every discussion and decision in a political setting was documented? Sure. Would it be perfect if every repository could keep every last shred of paper? Of course. Does any potential shortcoming in the archival record mean that these data should be disregarded? No. That would be throwing the baby out with the bath water. That would make the perfect the enemy of the good. Archival resources offer, in many cases, a qualitative improvement over many current measures of political behavior (e.g., committee assignments as a measure of committee assignment “preference” or press releases as a measure of a member's governing style).

Researchers certainly do not hold other measures of political behavior to such a high standard. Congressional scholars routinely employ roll call votes to measure individual preferences. Of course they are imperfect. For instance, many votes are never taken because party leaders prefer to avoid votes that will cause their members to take positions on controversial issues. How would roll call data be different if these “missing data” were included? By their nature, roll call votes do not reflect a continuum of choice on the part of voters. Roll call data would be more perfect

if members could vote on a scale from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree.” Some tough votes are conducted using voice votes, yet those are excluded from the roll call data record. Finally, some votes must be understood contextually and sequentially. As John Kerry admitted on the campaign trail in 2004, when he was asked about his vote against spending for the occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan, he remarked, “I actually did vote for the \$87 billion before I voted against it.”¹² Though one may read Kerry’s remarks as a politician trying to have his cake and eat it, too, they actually highlight the difficulty of understanding an individual’s position on an issue by looking at one vote alone. Given all of these shortcomings, should scholars not use roll call voting data in their research?

Survey research depends on random sampling to measure the attitudes of a population. On average, random sampling does a good job of generating data that represent the attitudes and opinions of a much larger population. But, it is also possible that a random sample can produce data that are entirely unrepresentative of the population. Because random sample surveys *can* produce misleading data, leading to faulty inferences, one should not rely only on random sample surveys. However, no serious social scientist would argue that such surveys should be rejected altogether because they are occasionally faulty.

All data sources have shortcomings. The question is how the researcher deals with those shortcomings. Given that there will be gaps of all kinds in the archival record, how does one deal with the problem of missing data? Given that politics is, by its nature, a collective enterprise, it is unusual for written communications to vanish entirely. Researchers can explore multiple archival collections for evidence. It may be that data missing in one collection exist in another collection that is closely related.

Conducting interviews is invaluable for the archival researcher. First, it is an excellent method for deepening one’s understanding of process. It is also a very good way to establish the completeness and validity of one’s data collection. For instance, when they are collecting data regarding congressional appropriations earmarks, Frisch and Kelly

routinely describe (or even show) documents to interviewees. Interviews also offer an opportunity to discover whether certain transactions were routinely documented and whether documentation might be available in the archival record. They may also prompt modifications in a researcher's search strategy; interviewees may suggest looking for documents that the researcher had not considered as a part of the data collection process.

Summary

Archival research is not without its critics. Many of the criticisms, however, have little empirical support. Though it is the case that in some isolated cases, collections are "sanitized" by donors, there is no evidence that this is a routine process. Because politics is a collective endeavor, it is entirely possible that data gaps can be filled through searches in other collections. Although it is true that much of what happens in politics is verbal, most important decisions do find their way into written documents. To the extent that this does not happen, researchers may find it valuable to use interviews to fill in data gaps. In short, though archival data have potential weaknesses, this is true of all data sources. The question is whether these potential problems justify ignoring a rich trove of potential data. As one archivist put it,

It amazes me that a discipline focused on the realm of politics largely chooses to ignore the wealth of information available in congressional collections. Are those political scientists obsessed with data sets and quantifiable analysis not opting to "limit" their own research endeavors, sanitizing their own observations by selecting only easily found indicators that can be numerically examined?¹³

ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

Broadly speaking, we have three objectives for this book. First, we illustrate how archival research "fits" into political science, how it is consistent with current trends in research, and how it can improve contempo-

rary research. Second, we demonstrate how archival sources are used to provide insight into important research puzzles in political science. Third, we provide illustrations and examples regarding the “how to” of archival research. In the beginning, archival research can seem intimidating and overwhelming; it pushes the bounds of one’s comfort zone. We hope to expand the comfort zone by demystifying archival research.

The book is organized into three parts. In part 1, three chapters provide background on doing archival research. The first two chapters in this part are intended to illustrate how archival research has benefits for both empirically minded and historically minded research. The third chapter is intended to provide insight from the point of view of the scholar-practitioners who make collections available to researchers.

Frisch and Kelly argue that archival research is a counterforce and yet fully consistent with the behavioral turn in political science. V. O. Key and others argued that political science needed to flee the dusty confines of the library to observe politics, to turn from excogitation to empiricism. The value of the behavioral revolution that followed was its focus on observing politicians and quantifying political behavior. Taken to its extreme, practitioners focused on those behaviors that were most easily observed and most easily measured; reliance on roll call votes and surveys, for instance, became the norm. Frisch and Kelly argue for returning to the archives to, in part, discover data that can improve political science and the understanding of politics.

Harris discusses the “historical turn” in political science and how archival data support the cause of the American political development (APD) movement. One of the ironies of APD is the degree to which a historically minded movement has failed to capitalize on such a fundamental practice of historical research: archival methods. In some regards, APD appears to rely on rearranging existing historical accounts that have been offered by historians to test political science theories rather than directly engaging the historical record. This may be changing somewhat,

but one would think that APD would be leading the charge into the archives; thus far, it has not done so.

Archivists are, at once, academics and practitioners. Archivists undergo rigorous training at the postgraduate level, grounded in the theory of their discipline; many of them are active researchers. They also engage in archival practice—that is, acquiring collections and arranging, describing, preserving, and making collections available to other academics. The Academy of Certified Archivists supports a certified archivist program that ensures broad competency in archival practice. The end product of archivists' work is what researchers like us (and hopefully like our readers) access to promote our research. Whitaker and Lotstein provide a porthole into the world of archivists. Their chapter demystifies the archivist's art for the benefit of researchers; it provides an understanding of the factors that shape how these collections are accessed and outlines a common vocabulary for understanding the collections with which researchers work.

The chapters in part 2 serve two purposes. On the one hand, they illustrate how archival materials improved the authors' research and how using archives allowed them unique perspectives on important research puzzles. On the other hand, the authors provide insight into the use of different kinds of collections. We purposely chose these authors because their work covers many different (though not all) subfields in American politics: Congress, the presidency, national security studies, public opinion, public policy, and interest groups. In so doing, we hope to illustrate the point that regardless of the topic, archival research can form the foundation of rigorous political science research.

The concluding chapter in part 3 is aimed at the less-seasoned researcher. Political scientist Sean Kelly and archivist Linda Whitaker collaborate—Kelly as a researcher and Whitaker as a scholar-practitioner—to provide advice on how to plan for traveling to and working in an archive. This advice is intended to help improve the experience so that it is both smooth and productive.

A FEW CAVEATS

This volume has a couple of shortcomings. First, the focus is entirely on doing archival research in American politics. We do not address using archives in other countries. We wish we could point the reader who is interested in that topic to some definitive source in political science, but it simply does not exist. Second, all four of the editors specialize in congressional studies. For that reason, some readers may find parts of the book Congress-centered. We hope that the chapters in part 2 offset that tendency and provide a broad cross-section of examples from other subfields of American politics. Finally, the volume is not objective; we are advocates for archival research who believe that almost any research in the field of American politics will benefit from adding an archival dimension. Despite the objections raised by some researchers, we believe that archives offer tremendous insight into a vast array of important political questions. In short, if one really seeks to understand Congress, the presidency, and so forth, one *must* go to the archives; to do anything less is to not fully understand one's subject matter. Full stop.

ARCHIVAL RESEARCH: AN "AHA" MOMENT

Sean Q Kelly

My first archival trip was to the Dirksen Center in Pekin, Illinois, in 2000. Scott Frisch had read an article in *Roll Call* about the newly opened Bob Michel papers. The story included some intriguing quotes from the committee request letters in the collection. Scott had gone to Pekin to look at the material in the Michel papers. Upon his return, he called me and asked about a possible collaboration. We were colleagues at East Carolina University for a few years and always hoped to find the right project to work on together.

We very quickly wrote a grant proposal for the Dirksen Center, requesting funding to use the Bob Michel papers in Pekin. We were

awarded a small sum (\$750) to cover my travel costs from Niagara University in western New York. My wife, who got her undergraduate degree from the University of Illinois, had friends in Bloomington-Normal (about forty-five minutes from Pekin) who agreed to put us up for free and feed us. So, we packed up our Subaru, put our two-year-old daughter in her car seat, and drove to Bloomington.

I was not sure what to expect on my first day. It was intimidating. I was stepping into the unknown; I had never done anything like this. I drove from Bloomington to Pekin. As usual, I arrived early, so I had to wait. At the appointed hour, I rang the bell and was greeted by Frank Mackaman. This was before the Dirksen Center had its own building. The entire operation was in a space on the second floor of the Pekin Public Library.

Because Scott had been there a few months before and Frank knew the collection inside and out, I got directly into the boxes. Frank asked me if I had ever worked with archival documents before. I was embarrassed to say “no.” In retrospect, I do not know why I was embarrassed. Political scientists are not trained to use archives. Why should I know anything about using them?

Frank explained the basics to me, and I got my first boxes. I took the first one and set it on the table. Taking out the first folder (committee assignment requests) and carefully putting a placeholder in the box in its place, I set the folder on the table and opened it up. Based on the political science literature, I knew exactly what I would find: letters requesting assignment to committees explaining how important it was to serve on the committee because of constituency concerns. As I turned the pages of the first folder, placed it back in the box, and looked through the next, I began to realize that the empirical reality of the letters did not comport with the expectations of the literature. Members were asking to be on all sorts of committees for all sorts of reasons, only a small number of which had anything to do with reelection or constituency concerns.

A contrarian and empiricist by nature, I almost immediately understood that the archives were for me. These data would allow Scott and me to properly test a wide range of hypotheses, addressing a debate that had largely languished (undeservedly) since the publication of *The Giant Jigsaw Puzzle: Democratic Committee Assignments in the Modern House* by Kenneth A. Shepsle in 1978. Four years later, Scott and I finished *Committee Assignment Politics in the U.S. House of Representatives*, which, I believe, is a serious challenge to the accepted wisdom that members' committee requests are motivated primarily by constituency concerns and that the selection process reflects routinized self-selection.

ENDNOTES

1. See Proquest's website at http://www.proquest.com/en-US/catalogs/databases/detail/archives_usa.shtml and the Northwest Digital Archives website at <http://nwda.orbiscascade.org/index.shtml>.
2. The biographical directory is located online at <http://bioguide.congress.gov/biosearch/biosearch.asp>.
3. Memo from Ari Fleischer to Chairman Livingston and Mark Corallo, November 9, 1998. Livingston Papers, Tulane University, unprocessed. Emphasis in the original.
4. E-mail exchange with the authors November 2011.
5. Memorandum from Patty Lynch to Senator DeConcini, November 21, 1991, DeConcini papers, University of Arizona, Box 9.
6. Personal communication with the authors, November 2011.
7. E-mail exchange with the authors, November 2011.
8. See the description of the papers, entitled "Thomas A Daschle Career Papers," located at <http://www.sdstate.edu/sdsuarchives/daschle/index.cfm>.
9. Karen Dawley Paul, *Records Management Handbook for United States Senators and Their Archival Repositories* (Washington, DC: Senate Historical Office, 2006). See also the House Historians' website at <http://historian.house.gov/> and Title 44 Chapter 29 of the U.S. Code, which establishes statute procedures for record management in the federal government.
10. Personal Communication with authors, November 2011.
11. E-mail exchange with the authors November 2011.
12. Daniel Klaidman and Evan Thomas, "Naysaying Kerry's Nay," *Newsweek*, March 29, 2004.
13. E-mail exchange with the authors, November 2011.

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PART I

POLITICAL SCIENCE
AND THE ARCHIVES

CHAPTER 1

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

Scott A. Frisch and Sean Q Kelly

Political scientists have always quantified whenever and whatever they could.

—Theodore J. Lowi (1992, 5)

At least once during their political science methodology coursework, budding political scientists hear the parable of the man who lost his keys: Walking down the street one night, one happens upon a man who is obviously intoxicated and is searching the sidewalk and street for something. Wanting to be a Good Samaritan, one asks the man what he has lost and if he would like some help. The man replies “Yes, I dropped my house keys and I am having problems finding them.” A detective by nature, one asks the man where he was standing when he dropped his keys. “Over there,” says the man casually pointing toward the darkness down the street while

looking down and casting his head narrowly back and forth. Curious that the man is not looking in the area where he indicates that he lost his keys one asks, "Why are you looking here when you lost your keys over there?" "Because," the man answers quite seriously, "it is dark over there, and there is a street light here so I can see better." Laughing and shaking their heads in agreement, the students predictably resolve then and there not to succumb to the allure of using data that are easy to obtain though they are inappropriate for the research question. Most proceed to forsake the resolution, either pursuing a research project because the data are easily available or using less-than-optimal data to address a research puzzle in the face of the work involved in collecting the appropriate data. Protecting themselves from the claim that they are acting like the drunk man in the story, they subsequently argue that more appropriate data do not exist or would be too costly to assemble.

In this chapter, we claim that archival research improves one's ability to generate appropriate data to better test hypotheses central to the study of political institutions, individual political behavior, and public policy.¹ Archival research is also consistent with the urge of many political scientists to quantify and contribute new empirical observations of political phenomena. Most importantly, our purpose is to entice political scientists into using archival collections because it will improve the quality of political science research.²

Before continuing, we should explain the nature of our experience with political papers and thus some of the limitations of this chapter. Since 2000, we have used more than sixty-five congressional and presidential papers collections, physically visiting three-quarters of those collections in seventy-seven separate or combined trips. We have visited small universities with few congressional collections and extremely limited resources, and we have visited major congressional research centers, the National Archives, and presidential libraries. Our quest through this period has been for appropriate data that allow us to test the major theories of congressional organization (Frisch and Kelly 2006b), theories of presidential

influence in Congress (Frisch and Kelly 2008), and theories concerning the generation of pork barrel or distributive spending in Congress (Frisch and Kelly 2013, forthcoming). Throughout this chapter, we will illustrate our points by drawing on this research. Given the nature of our experience, we quite naturally draw on our experience using congressional collections.

DATAHEADS

Political scientists like to count things. They are dataheads. During the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, an important shift was taking place within political science: the so-called behavioral revolution. The most important elements of this revolution were an emphasis on methodological individualism and the adoption of the norms of the natural sciences, specifically the scientific method, in the study of politics. Methodological individualism holds that the appropriate unit of analysis in the study of politics is the individual, as opposed to concepts such as classes, parties, elites, and the like, which were considered epiphenomenal to individual behaviors. The behavioral revolution sought to adapt some of the methods of the sciences—or at least political scientists’ understanding of how science “works”—to the study of politics, especially the empirical tradition, which proceeds from direct observations of individual behaviors, precise measurements of behaviors through quantification, and the use of statistical methodologies to analyze the resulting data.³

The behavioral revolution was—to use the language of psychology—an act of individuation; it was the point at which political science declared its independence, once and for all, from history and the humanities.⁴ Central to the behavioral revolution was a focus on data collection methods distinct from those of the humanities. The legendary political scientist V. O. Key lamented the slowness of movement toward this new epistemic orientation:

Professional students of public affairs, both by the limiting circumstances of their employment and the habits of work induced by the

tradition and training, have been far too dependent upon the library, the document, and excogitation. Projects that rely on firsthand observation and utilize the appropriate techniques for the accumulation of data relevant to the analytic problems deserve priority. All this is not to deny the utilities of the printed or archival source. The point is simply that heavy reliance on such materials severely restricts the range of questions open to investigation. Over the past quarter of a century social scientists have in varying degree extricated themselves from the toils of the library, but the political scientists have made the least progress in this direction. (1956, 30)

In many respects, the behavioral revolution marked an important and positive turning point for the discipline. Emphasis on observation and measurement allowed political scientists to seek out and discover regularities in political behavior and attain a more secure grasp on political praxis. For instance, the prebehavioral classic in the study of Congress was Woodrow Wilson's book *Congressional Government*, which he wrote in 1885 as a dissertation while he was at the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. Though he was less than fifty miles from Washington, DC, and the Congress about which he wrote, Wilson never took the time to visit and observe the Congress in person. Although it is still a classic, Wilson's work is excessively normative and dependent on journalistic descriptions; it would be difficult to argue that the spirit of observation that was launched during the behavioral revolution did not have a positive impact on the study of Congress, at the very least.

By the same token, we believe political science took Key's advice a little too enthusiastically. Political scientists abandoned the "toils" of libraries and archival collections, leaving them to be mined by "pre-scientific" historians. Meanwhile, political scientists, possessed by the behavioral spirit, sought out real data that could be analyzed using the latest statistical methods, whose complicated calculations could be completed by rapidly advancing computer technologies. Reliance on data and statistics completed the metamorphosis of the study of government into political science. Important strides were made in understanding the political atti-

tudes and behaviors of voters through nationally representative surveys of American voters. For instance, in their path-breaking book *The American Voter*, Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes (1960) tested the prevailing wisdom that voters choose candidates based on well-defined ideologies and found that voters used cognitive shortcuts, primarily party affiliation, to make their choices at the polls. Through their work, Campbell et al. established survey research as a dominant data source in American politics.

Congressional studies qua political science were on the leading edge of the behavioral revolution. As a subfield of American politics, the development of congressional studies provides useful insight into the behavior of political scientists. Political science tends to be pack oriented; once a relevant and significant research puzzle is identified, political scientists are magnetically attracted to it (Arnold 1982). This pack orientation is magnified when ready data are easily available. One example is the question of incumbency advantage. David Mayhew (1974b) first brought to the attention of congressional scholars the propensity of incumbent members of Congress to win reelection, usually by large margins, and hypothesized reasons for the increasing electoral security of incumbents (Mayhew 1974a, 1974b). As a result, congressional scholars mined electoral data—which are neatly and regularly generated in a democracy by the federal and other levels of government—in search of an explanation for the advantage. A subsequent finding by Kernell and Jacobson (1981) that established a link between incumbent campaign spending and the incumbency advantage led congressional scholars to explore campaign finance data (which were made far more easily available by the campaign spending reforms of the 1970s and are now made available by the Federal Election Commission for easy download from the Internet).

Another area intensively studied in congressional politics is the roll call voting behavior of members of Congress. Studies of the voting behavior of members of Congress and other legislatures have a long pedigree (e.g., Miller and Stokes 1963 and Kingdon 1973). This is true, in part, because

voting on proposals is one of the most important (and obvious) activities of a legislature. Because legislatures have tended to keep careful records of votes, these could be easily translated into quantitative data. Reforms in the late 1960s made recorded votes far more common in Congress, and today votes are reported and recorded on the Internet almost simultaneous to the vote. At one point, political scientist Doug Arnold (1982, 94) calculated that about 10 percent of the articles on American politics in the four top journals were on these two topics—the incumbency advantage in congressional elections and roll call voting in Congress. Imagine, for a moment, a world in which the congressional reforms did not require teller voting. A huge component of the literature would not exist.

These examples reveal a second important insight into the behavior of political scientists: political scientists tend to be lazy or rational (take your pick). Once a data set has been created and electronically archived, making it available for broad disciplinary consumption, there is little incentive for political scientists to pursue the creation of new data. Why would a rational actor invest his or her resources into collecting new data? Collecting new data sets is expensive, and it is difficult—except at the largest universities—to find the resources to support new data collection. As Arnold pointed out, original data collections are

in the first instance, very expensive, and someone must pay the bill. Once paid, however, it becomes very inexpensive to duplicate the data files and distribute them to interested scholars. Many universities pay for the automatic acquisition of such data through the Inter-University Consortium and then provide free computer time for analyzing them....From the point of view of the individual scholar, then, doing research on elections is costless. Complete and automatic subsidization eliminates the need for either grants or the investment of personal resources. Small wonder that so many scholars are doing research [using surveys]...It is free. (1982, 101)

Unlike research which relies on the analysis of existing survey data, archival research poses legitimate barriers for political scientists. First, political scientists are not trained in archival research (much less alerted

to the existence of archives), which imposes substantial start-up costs (locating collections, learning how to use a finding aid, developing successful information-seeking strategies, etc.) on using these collections. Second, archival research is expensive: the average cost of our trips has been about \$1,000, including airfare, lodging, and when necessary, photocopying. Third, archival research is time-consuming: the modal duration of our trips is three days, and trips of five days are not uncommon (as is resistance from our families). In sum, archival research involves many elements of risk for political scientists. In a discipline that is unfamiliar with archival data, the prospect of publishing archive-based research is unclear. In the presence of established research questions and existing data, why bear the risk?⁵ As Arnold put it, "The competition is [between] plenty of free data...that scholars can analyze without ever applying for a grant, spending a dime, or leaving the comfort of the university" (1982, 103).

Many of the things that interest students of American political institutions are observable (though we wonder if the observable nature of things is what makes them interesting). However, many of the things that are interesting about institutional behavior are not observable. Scholars lament the lack of understanding of congressional leadership, committee decision making, presidential influence, and the like. These are all things that happen behind doors that are not open to researchers. To a large degree, they are impenetrable, even through the participant-observation techniques practiced by V. O. Key and Richard Fenno (both of us have worked in Congress, and we use interviews extensively, having interviewed more than a hundred members, former members, White House and congressional staff, lobbyists, and journalists). Participant observers very rarely gain the level of access that is necessary to get inside committee rooms or the West Wing of the White House, where important decisions are made. Even Richard Fenno had to deal with closed doors. Participant observers are "birds of passage"; they tend to have access for short periods rather than spending years conducting academic research. They pop in and out for a few days, weeks, or months rather than over the course

of years. Finally, participant observers rarely attain the institutional positions of influence that are necessary to understanding broad institutional dynamics. How many political scientists have served as the staff director of a congressional committee, as a White House legislative liaison to the House of Representatives, or in another position where they were central to critical decision-making processes?

As Douglas Harris and David Parker indicate in their respective chapters, archival research overcomes some of the shortcomings of participant observation. First, it gets the researcher behind the closed doors that are so hard to penetrate as a participant observer. Documents (and increasingly, e-mails) give insight into processes that are largely unseen by participant observers.

For instance, a memo from President Carter's liaison staff and his handwritten notes provide insight into how he lobbied select members of Congress on a veto override vote that some scholars consider to be a turning point in his presidency (see figure 1). Green (2006) and Harris (2006) used data drawn from archives to pry open the otherwise secretive leadership selection process, an activity that tends to be member to member and thus difficult to penetrate.

Congressional and presidential collections by their nature document the entire career of a subject. This means that rather than observing as a bird of passage, the researcher is able to draw back the curtain on multiple and long-term decision processes to understand and appreciate the complexity of individual behaviors. Ultimately, much of that complexity will be stripped away (rightfully, in many cases) in the interest of identifying regular patterns, but in the interim, it helps the researcher to be a better theorist.

Using archival data, we examined the efforts of a House appropriator (Tom Bevill, D-AL) to protect a major public works project—the creation of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway—that benefitted his state (Frisch and Kelly 2006a). Over several years, amendments were offered to kill the

project. Bevill actively whipped House members to support his position. Collecting the documents allowed us to better understand the process of member-to-member whipping behavior. It also helped us to better understand the degree to which active whipping can persuade members to support a powerful member on a critical vote. Bevill ultimately won on a final, critical vote by encouraging a small number of members to “take a walk”—to engage in strategic abstention—a behavior that up to this point has gotten little or no attention in the literature. Of course, why would it? In the absence of the archival record, there would be no way of knowing which abstentions were strategic and which were simply from members who were unavailable to vote.

Political papers collections contain the records of a member and usually most or all of his or her staff. A researcher can gain multiple perspectives from within the operation. And, because politics is all about interaction, the researcher can gain perspective on behaviors across offices or across institutions. Our work on Jimmy Carter’s veto of the fiscal year 1979 energy and water appropriations bill used papers from the Carter administration, but also papers from his chief congressional rival, Tom Bevill. Both men were feverishly whipping on the critical veto override bill.

Using the archival record, we were able determine which members the men were whipping, when they were whipping the same member, and the degree to which they were successful at changing members’ minds. Our results indicate that direct appeals to members could get them to change their minds, but when a member was whipped by both men, a presidential appeal was more effective than a member-to-member appeal. It may seem an obvious statement when it is read here, but only the data in the archives have the power to illustrate it and empirically support it.

Figure 1. Page 1 of a list of members that the Carter White House liaison team suggested President Carter contact. The handwritten notes are the president's, reflecting his thoughts on each call.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

CONGRESSIONAL TELEPHONE CALLS

TO:	Sid Yates (D-Ill) Floyd Fithian (D-Ind) Jim Collins (R-Tx) John Buchanan (R-Ala) Ike Skelton (D-Mo)	Ron Mazzoli (D-Ky) Jim Leach (R-Iowa) Adam Benjamin (D-Ind) George Danielson (D-Cal)
DATE:	October 4, 1978	
RECOMMENDED BY:	Frank Moore <i>F.M./BR</i>	
PURPOSE:	To ask their support on the public works veto.	
TOPICS OF DISCUSSION:	As follow.	

None of the following Members have projected appearances by senior Administration officials. We have noted previous appearances below for Fithian and Mazzoli.

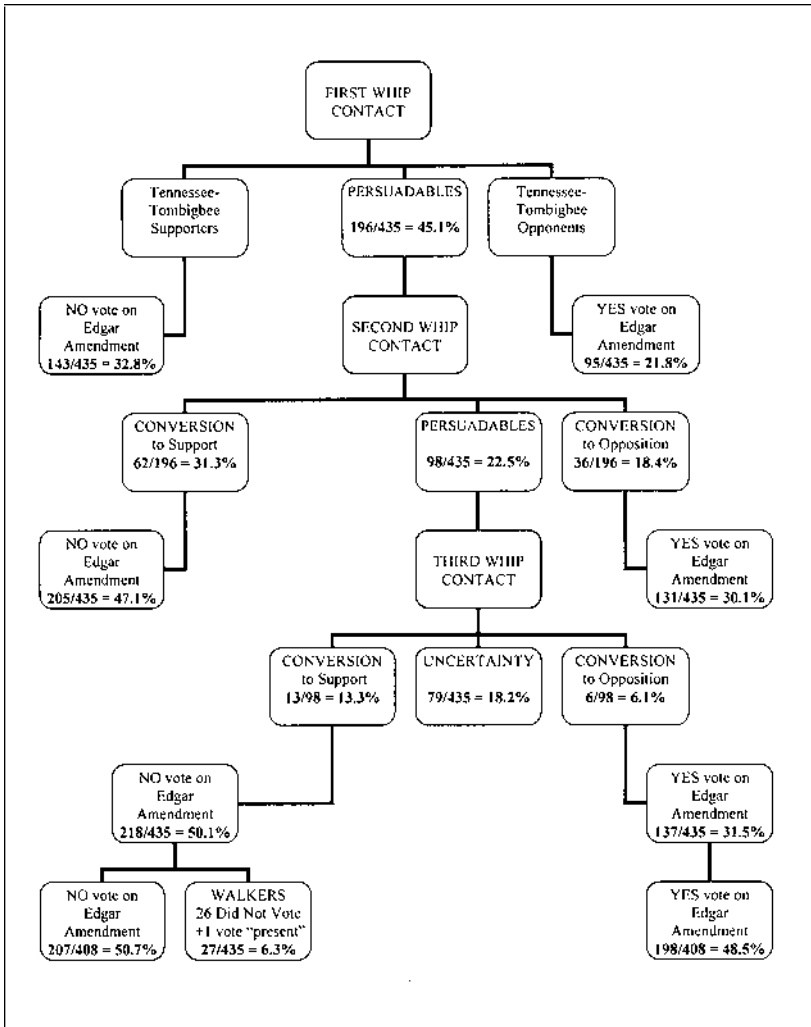
5 *Finally agreed to reach back date & still*
 Sid Yates. Has been with us in the past. This is important to me to continue to be able to provide the leadership necessary to reach a successful conclusion of the Peace Talks. *against Perkins - Voted to Edgan = Brainwashed - Sounds like Bevill & Wright*

Prob
 Floyd Fithian. You were successful with him yesterday on the rule on energy. He is not with us now. He generally responds to economy and good government-type issues. *2 Lafayette Lake*
 Chip attended Fithian's major fundraiser in Indiana in June (a boat trip for his sponsors' club). *wants to kill Jim free call tomorrow*

1
 Jim Collins. He has been consistently with us in the past on water policy. He responds to fiscal conservative issues -- avoid the natural gas issue.

*3 **
 John Buchanan. John just survived a tough primary attack from the right. He has been with us on most foreign policy issues and should stay with us. *Bevill is prob. "Will take another look" (with us on Nat gas)*

Figure 2. Whip counts from the papers of Representative Tom Bevell help illustrate how he built a coalition in support of his Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway project.



OH, THE PLACES YOU'LL GO

If one has never used collections, it is hard to imagine their vast potential and what might be in them. It is all the more difficult for researchers who have limited experience working in practical politics; one will be surprised by the degree to which behaviors are documented and retained by offices. Generally speaking, American politics scholars tend to specialize in political institutions, electoral behavior, interest groups, political parties, and public policy. In each of these subfields, congressional papers have the potential to yield important data. Table 1 provides a suggestive listing for the potential user of the papers. What constitutes potential data? A scholar who is well-grounded in the scholarly literature and carefully studies the descriptive material that is the subject of his or her study will find that appropriate materials are easily identifiable:

1. Attitudinal surveys conducted by politicians, political parties, or political consultants within a political jurisdiction (city, county, state, congressional district, or state). Nationally representative samples that allow one to make accurate inferences about national attitudes do not allow one to understand how local public opinion impacts the decisions of politicians. Surveys focusing on a specific jurisdiction can be used to examine the relationship between public opinion and elite decision making.
2. Whip counts or surveys of other politicians in the same institution, which indicate support for or opposition to pending legislation or actions. Though the party leadership often engages in whip counts, it is not uncommon to find these counts in the collections of rank-and-file members who are pursuing specific legislative goals or who are pursuing an elected leadership or other institutional position.
3. Letters from other politicians requesting help or support for a project or position. These kinds of letters tend to be voluminous in the case of political actors who served in positions of formal party or committee leadership. Often these letters will be summarized in spreadsheets and binders that may have been used in formal decision-making meetings.

4. Documents that contain information about money but are not typically made available to the public. Money is the lifeblood of politics. In electoral politics, money helps to finance elections, and information regarding the when, where, and how of campaign contributions is of great interest to many students of American politics. In public policy, the battle over money (e.g., how much money will be allocated for particular policies and projects) is critical; unpublished materials that document proposed and/or actual public expenditures or campaign expenditures are of great interest to many scholars, too.

One of the pure joys of archival research is the element of serendipity. In looking for specific documents such as those in the table, a researcher will run across other, sometimes more interesting and revealing, material in nearby folders and boxes. For example, our work on Jimmy Carter began with Kelly traveling to the presidential library to look for evidence of members of Congress seeking to influence executive branch appropriations decisions. As he worked through the papers, an equally interesting story and data source presented itself. The congressional liaison staff had maintained a detailed record of a “veto strategy” and the ensuing battle with Congress. It became clear that we had an opportunity to examine how a president sought to influence votes in Congress. In short, the Jimmy Carter book was a “mistake,” a side trip made possible by serendipity, which resulted in our meeting and befriending members of the Carter administration and having a meeting with President Carter himself. In the words of Dr. Seuss, “Oh, the places you’ll go!”

Another benefit of archival research is the opportunity to visit the places that produced the politicians who are being studied. Representation in the American system is largely based on geography; members of Congress represent states and parts of states, and presidents have often served first as members of Congress and/or governors of states. Politicians’ beliefs and behaviors are often shaped by their experiences growing up in the areas that they represent, the area where their papers are usually deposited. Visiting these locales can provide insight into how the geography shaped the politician and how the politician shaped the place that he or she

represented. Much as Richard Fenno urged congressional scholars to leave Washington to study members in their districts, conducting archival research gets scholars out to the districts and states of former members of Congress.

For more than twenty years, Joseph McDade represented Scranton, Pennsylvania. Before it was the setting for the fictional television series *The Office*, Scranton was home to the coal mining industry and fueled the Industrial Revolution in the Northeast. As the coal industry went into decline in northeastern Pennsylvania, it left behind a brutal legacy of environmental contamination and mine subsidence that threatened people's homes. As a member of the House Appropriations Committee, McDade made it his business to use the power of the purse to address environmental problems and promote economic development in the depressed region.

As a result, one drives into Scranton on the Joseph McDade Expressway and passes by Joseph McDade Park. In Scranton, one can visit the Anthracite Coal Museum—and take a long elevator ride down into a mine to experience what it is like to work in a mine—or visit the famous (if not infamous) Steamtown, a train museum operated by the National Park Service. On the way to Weinberg Memorial Library to work in McDade's papers, be sure to keep an eye peeled for the Joseph McDade Center for Literary and Performing Arts, which is just across the way from the library. “Oh, the places you'll go!”

Table 1. The data available in archival collections.

	Ready Data ^a	Latent Data ^b
Public Opinion	• Surveys commissioned by the politician, institution, or group • Telephone logs recording opinion on proposed legislation • Staff analysis of constituent mail or telephone logs (summaries of pro and con opinion calculated by the staff)	• Constituent correspondence could provide an indication of actual opinion in the district on a wide array of policy issues or evolution of opinion within the district over time on a selected issue or issues • Office phone logs that record phoned-in constituent opinion could similarly be a measure of activated opinion
Electoral Strategy	• Actual campaign contributions (especially before the campaign reforms of the 1970s): Who contributes? Where are they?	• District appointment books (how members choose to allocate their time in the district) during election periods compared to off years or across election periods • Letters to potential campaign contributors: Who are they? Where are they?
Party	• Party campaign contributions to members of their caucus • Surveys commissioned by the party • Internally calculated party support scores • Party whip counts • Records of Senate holds	• Communications from party leaders indicate how the party leadership would like members to vote on legislation • Party “message” documents indicate how the party would like its members to talk about party programs • Party legislative agendas indicate which pieces of legislation are most important
Redistricting	• Precinct-level party registration information • Precinct-level demographic data	• Maps of proposed district lines • Memos regarding districting issues
Career	• Listings of projects in the district that have received funding and amounts of funding	• Office appointment books (how political actors allocate their time in the legislature) • Requests for committee assignments • Requests for funding sent to the appropriations committees
^a Ready data are materials in a collection that are already expressed in numerical terms and would need only to be entered into a database. ^b Latent data are materials that would need to be translated into data by the researcher.		

Table 2. Ready and latent data in congressional papers collections.

	Ready Data ^a	Latent Data ^b
Policy	• Party or office “whip counts” detailing how others may vote in the legislature on legislative initiatives of the politician • Vote estimates from interest groups	• “Dear Colleague” letters requesting support or opposition for particular pieces of legislation • Interest group letters regarding pending legislation • Letters to colleagues requesting support. • Letters from colleagues pledging support, sending regrets
Leadership Battles	• Whip counts of members’ intentions to support a particular leadership contestant	• Bill cosponsorship; correspondence with other members of a legislature may provide insight into which bills are strong cosponsors (versus symbolic cosponsorship)
Executive Relations	• Budget projects, cost estimates, etc. from the Office of Management and Budget and other executive departments and agencies	• Communications from the White House regarding the president’s policy preferences
Influence		• Recommendation for federal judicial appointments • Recommendation for executive branch appointments • Requests for Senate holds • Rules Committee requests for special rules
Position Taking	• Listings of press conferences and topics • Listings of floor speeches, one-minutes, and topics	• Constituent newsletters: How much position-taking activity is included in newsletters? What types of activities are stressed?
Credit Claiming		• Press releases and press clippings: When do press clippings result in actual stories in the local media? • Constituent newsletters: How much credit-claiming activity is included in newsletters? What types of activities are stressed?

^a Ready data are materials in a collection that are already expressed in numerical terms and would need only to be entered into a database.

^b Latent data are materials that would need to be translated into data by the researcher.

CONCLUSION

Analysis of quantitative data tends to dominate academic political science. Beginning in the middle third of the twentieth century, a premium was placed on measurable and observable behavior. This trend pushed political scientists out of the library and increasingly into the computer lab (and occasionally into the field). The methods of history, archival research in particular, were to be abandoned once and for all to the lonely and gnomish historian; political science was prepared to join the ranks of the more mature social sciences: economics and psychology. Abandoning the archives was viewed as an indication of progress. Though historical political science is experiencing something of a renaissance, an anonymous political scientist put it this way: "The battle is over, quantitative political science has won, and everyone gets to learn how to estimate maximum likelihood models." Even considering the bravado and overstatement, the quote illustrates an important point: if archival research is to enter the mainstream of political science research, it likely will be on the coattails of quantitative analysis. The majority of articles in top journals are quantitative, and they do not rely on archival data (Frisch and Kelly 2009). We believe that the spread of archival research to political science is dependent on identifying quantifiable data in the preserved documents in the collections of public figures.

Our formal collaboration began in March 2000. Frisch called Kelly and told him about some of the wonderful things he had found while he was working in the Robert Michel papers at the Dirksen Congressional Center in Pekin, Illinois. Among the wonderful things were hundreds of paper ballots, ballots that were used by the Republican leadership to vote on who would be assigned to each of the congressional committees. One would assume that these ballots would be secret, but "no," Frisch said, "the people casting the ballots put their names on the ballots." Intrigued by the possibility and funded by a small grant from the Dirksen Center, Kelly traveled to Pekin, where these not-so-secret ballots had been carefully stored in envelopes by some conscientious Republican staffer. Kelly

spent almost three days entering the information contained in those thousands of ballots into a spreadsheet (there were far too many to make copies on our limited budget). At one point, the archivist and director of the center, Frank Mackaman, strolled over and said, “I always wondered if those were of any use.” One chapter of our book *Committee Assignment Politics* is dedicated to an analysis of those data, which allowed us, among other things, to empirically verify factions within the Republican Party at the time in a way that would have been impossible otherwise.

Political scientists are dataheads, as our experience illustrates; they love it when they can find things to count and then use them in quantitative analysis. Though history-minded political scientists continue to work and publish, large-scale use of archival sources is most likely to come from the quantitatively minded wing of the profession.

Larry Evans’s recent work (see, for instance, Evans and Renjilian 2004; Evans and Lipinski 2005; Evans et al. 2005; Evans and Grandy 2009) is a hopeful example of a senior and well-respected congressional scholar embracing archival research and illustrating both the descriptive benefits and the empirical power of this approach in the area of congressional studies. If the examples in this chapter and the other chapters in this volume are not enough to convince the reader of the benefits of archival research, Evans’s example should erase all doubts.⁶

ENDNOTES

1. For that reason, in the past several years we have applied the zeal and enthusiasm of evangelists to spread the good news of archival research. This includes publishing an article in a leading political science journal (Frisch and Kelly 2003), participating in a joint political scientist–archivist roundtable at a major regional political science conference, and holding a “short course” for political scientists on doing archival research at the 2005 American Political Science Association conference.
2. We owe an enormous debt of gratitude to the many archivists and archival staff that we have had the opportunity to learn from, including Beth Bower, Rose Diaz, Michael Knies, Rebecca Johnson-Melvin, Richard Hunt, Jessie Kratz, Frank Mackaman, Charlotte Walters, and Linda Whitaker, to name just a few. Our work in archives has been expensive, and we have had the financial support of the Dirksen Congressional Center, the Carl Albert Center, the Gerald Ford Presidential Library, the Institute for Humane Studies, the Thomas S. Foley Institute at Washington State University, the Niagara University Research Council, and California State University Channel Islands.
3. Shapiro (2005) argued that the deductive and empirical elements of the “behavioral revolution” that we describe are distinct traditions; we present them as a unified tradition, which we believe is all the more appropriate given the rise of the empirical implications of theoretical models (EITM) movement, which seeks to reconcile these two somewhat distinct traditions.
4. This is not to argue that political science has not maintained a strong attachment to history, as the American political development movement illustrates. However, it would be difficult to argue that the top political science journals are not dominated by behavioral and quantitative political science.
5. For junior faculty, under pressure to publish to achieve tenure, the risks may be even higher. The time-consuming data collection phase of archival research could substantially slow the rate of publication, raising the eyebrows of more senior faculty.
6. There are many other examples in the political science literature that demonstrate the use of archival sources in quantitative data analysis. Forrest Maltzman, James Spriggs, and Paul Wahlbeck (2000) used the

papers of former Supreme Court justice Harry Blackmun to great effect, and data from the same source have recently found their way into the *American Political Science Review* (Johnson, Wahlbeck, and Spriggs 2006). Harris's (2005a, 2005b) work on party leadership in the U.S. House makes extensive use of archival data. Lawrence, Maltzman, and Wahlbeck (2001) used archival data in their work on committee assignments at the turn of the last century. In addition to our work on House committee assignments, we used archival data to examine Senate Democratic committee assignments (Frisch and Kelly 2006b). Terry Sullivan's work using presidential papers is seminal (see, for instance, Sullivan 1990, 1991a, 1991b, 2001).

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CHAPTER 2

BEHAVIORAL REALITY AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

HISTORICAL METHODS FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE'S HISTORICAL-INSTITUTIONAL TURN

Douglas B. Harris

Archival research provides evidence and insights into many political science questions in ways that more typical methods and modes of analysis cannot.¹ I know this from experience, having tried my hand at two different approaches in my analyses of congressional party leaders' uses of mass media strategies of legislative leadership (first a more traditional behavioral-institutional analysis of this phenomenon and then a more in-depth historical-institutional and archival examination).² In writing my PhD dissertation and an article on the rise of the public Speakership (Harris 1998), I employed some traditional tools of institutional-behavioral analysis: I examined official House websites and congressional documents as well as published accounts from secondary press sources and the scholarly literature; I counted the appearances of Speakers on the ABC, NBC, and CBS nightly news programs as well as the appearances

of congressional party leaders on *Meet the Press* and *Face the Nation*; and I examined the *Congressional Staff Directory* to chart the increase of press secretaries and communications directors in House leadership offices. That analysis charted the rise of the public Speakership and public congressional leadership in the 1980s and 1990s, characterizing it as an institutional departure from the more private style that typified congressional leadership since at least the Speakership of Sam Rayburn in the mid-twentieth century.

Although that analysis is, I think, significant and its conclusions have withstood scholarly scrutiny, including my own subsequent research on the subject, it nevertheless necessarily traced the rise of this public style quite broadly, leaving some important questions unaddressed. One prominent example of an open question was, When and how exactly did the public Speakership take hold? This question centered on the role of Speaker Carl Albert. An important transitional figure in the House generally, Carl Albert was Speaker from 1971 to 1976, where he presided over one of the most significant periods of institutional reform and change in House history. Albert was a transitional and ambivalent figure, too, in terms of the rise of the public Speakership. In some respects, Albert's Speakership evinced an increased willingness to "go public." He hired the first press secretary in the Speaker's staff, J. Roddy Keiser, whom he replaced with Joe S. Foote, who brought a great deal more press experience to the role. He established the critically important Information Task Force designed to bring together up-and-coming Democratic leaders who were knowledgeable about and focused on media and messaging. And, he made more (albeit only slightly more) appearances on the nightly news and on Sunday morning talk shows compared to Speaker John McCormack. However, even during the divided government of the Nixon and Ford presidencies, Albert's willingness to employ media strategies and his visibility paled in comparison to subsequent Speakers. The balance of this evidence led me to lump Albert's speakership in more with his predecessors Sam Rayburn and John McCormack than with the public Speak-

erships of his successors Tip O'Neill, Jim Wright, Tom Foley, and Newt Gingrich (Harris 1998).

As I turned my attention from my dissertation and this article to a broader book manuscript that could address these questions and many others, I sought to flesh out the historical record of the rise of the public Speakership and public congressional leadership more generally across both the House Democratic and Republican Parties from the 1960s to the 1990s. How, I wondered, should one interpret Albert's transitional and ambivalent role in the development of the public style of legislative leadership? Did Albert ignore the impact of divided government and party conflict, the generational change of the membership he led, and the increased importance of television more generally in favor of the received wisdom and skills he honed during his quarter century in the House under Rayburn and McCormack? Or, did he sense those changes and respond? What, if anything, was the nature of his response?

Having found the historical and press accounts of congressional party communications wanting (trust me—I looked), I was in search of better evidence (“data”) and a more complete—a more organizationally and behaviorally real—account of this critical change in House leadership. Inspired by other recent works that had used archival sources (Maltese 1994; Kolodny 1998), I was determined to recover the history of the rise of public congressional leadership myself, beginning in the vast archival holdings of the Carl Albert Center at the University of Oklahoma.

My research at the Albert Center (my first-ever archival research trip) helped shed important light on a number of open questions, including Speaker Carl Albert's ambivalent place in the rise of the public Speakership.³ Uncovered among the documents were extensive notes and transcripts of the Speaker's daily press conference, planning documents and minutes from meetings of the Information Task Force, transcripts of joint meetings between the House and Senate Democratic leadership, internal correspondence among congressional party leaders and between leaders and staff, campaign travel schedules, numerous policy documents,

documents related to the Nixon and Ford administrations (including the impeachment process and resignation), and thousands of other documents centering around the life and work of the Congress and Washington. Although I took a broad sweep through these documents, my focus was on press files, speeches, legislative leadership, and the intersections thereof. There was considerable evidence in these documents, indeed, not only of both sides of Albert's ambivalent stance in regard to public leadership but also providing clues as to how to read and interpret that ambivalence.

First, there was ample evidence in the archives that, officially and organizationally, Albert was stepping up his media presence and communications strategies more generally. There were notes of party meetings where press strategy (and the need for such strategies) was discussed as well as letters to the Speaker from House Democrats exhorting him to greater media visibility and offering advice and tips on how best to engage the press. The composition of Albert's Information Task Force, the minutes of its meetings, and the reports that were written for it shed a great deal of light on the state of congressional party communications in the 1970s. And, among many other artifacts, internal memoranda between the Speaker and his press secretaries offer glimpses into Albert's office's views of the media and political environment they confronted as well as their press intentions. Early in 1973, Joe Foote wrote a memorandum to the Speaker outlining strategies and changes to the format of the Speaker's print press conferences and those that included broadcast media (what they termed "news conferences") to make these media interactions more newsworthy. These changes, Foote argued, "would give us a more dynamic and powerful press posture, and at the same time, allow us more control over our appearances before the press. It should also effect a more equitable balance between newspapers and the broadcast media."⁴ Though they are seemingly rudimentary in retrospect, these initial efforts to embed an organizational media presence in the House leadership are noteworthy, particularly in light of the fact that prior Speakers had avoided media strategies of legislative leadership. In some respects, Carl Albert was a pioneer.

Still, archives reveal, too, that Albert's first behavioral steps toward media leadership were cautious, reluctant, and prone to mistake, as one would expect given his House experience and the skill set he accumulated during his long tutelage under Rayburn and McCormack in the mid-century House. Although a complete consideration of this is beyond the scope of this chapter, note, for example, how if Albert officially recognized the dawn of congressional media politics, he nevertheless seemed personally reluctant to "go public." It is clear in the archives that Joe Foote played well the role of a press secretary as he pushed Albert to take press activities more seriously and to increase his visibility. However, Albert's responses to these requests tended to reflect a personal reluctance to accept media opportunities. Repeatedly, Foote would forward a request and Albert would decline. To a series of beginning-of-Congress interviews in 1975 (with major outlets such as the *Washington Star*, the *National Journal*, *U.S. News and World Report*, CBS Morning News, Agronsky and Company, and others), Albert handwrote, "I don't think so."⁵ To a request to be on CBS Morning News to respond to a national speech by President Ford, Albert declined: "I want to take it easy for the rest of the week."⁶ And, approaching the August recess in 1973, Foote sent Albert eight requests for interviews from a wide variety of outlets, including print sources such as Hearst newspapers, the *Washington Star*, and the *New York Times Magazine* as well as television outlets on public television and ABC's *Issues and Answers*. Despite Albert's increasing interest in media strategies and the fact that the August recess is a strategically advantageous point in the calendar at which congressional leaders can make news, Albert's response to Foote was "No, I am too weary."⁷ This is not to say that Albert declined all invitations, but only that his actual behavior did not comport with his organizational efforts to engage the media. After a series of similar exchanges over the years, by June 1975, Foote wrote to Albert, seemingly resigned to the Speaker's reluctance to embrace the new media role: "You have been invited to appear on *Face the Nation* Sunday. I will regret this invitation tomorrow morning unless I hear from you."⁸

How would political scientists interpret this evidence of contradictory behaviors and confused or mixed motivations? The tendency among many would be to search for the “real” or the “primary” motivation. Indeed, my short answer to questions about Albert’s place in the development of the public Speakership remains (as it was in the dissertation and the 1998 article) that, like his predecessors and mentors Rayburn and McCormack, Albert was a private Speaker. Whereas this search for clarity and parsimony is often understandable and laudable, it has the negative consequence of embedding in research a bias against understanding that people often act without knowing exactly why and, perhaps not infrequently, do so with ambivalence amidst contradictory impulses. This bias may pose a challenge to understanding politics in a behaviorally real way. My extended interpretation—indeed, a chapter’s worth of archival discoveries—of this is twofold, having implications not only for Albert’s Speakership but also for questions of institutional development more generally. On the one hand, Albert sensed the contextual demands for a new type of legislative leadership but was personally ill-suited and uncomfortable supplying it. After a crucial (and tense) meeting with class of 1974 freshmen members and at the prodding of younger, more media-savvy Democratic leaders (most notably John Brademas) and his press secretary, Albert could read the writing on the wall. On the other hand, despite his official acknowledgement of the importance of media politics to his caucus and the House as an institution, Albert was a politician of an earlier era (and trained well in that era) and he lacked the media experience, training, and perhaps even instinct that more contemporary politicians—including his successors in the Speakership—would develop over time.

Perhaps there is a general lesson about institutional change here: even when environmental conditions change to the degree that there are demands for institutional innovation, there remains a critical need for individual actors to supply that innovation, and some actors will supply that innovation more willingly, completely, and effectively than others. This requires an appreciation of the demand and supply sides of institutional

change and innovation as well as an appreciation that institutional change is not necessarily functional or efficient.⁹

My point here is not only that archival research allowed me to understand Carl Albert better but also that there is a general lesson: there are many political questions that are obscured to more traditional political science researchers that can be illuminated through a closer engagement with and examination of archival materials. In what follows, I express, first, the curiosity that archival research has not accompanied the historical-institutional turn in political science in recent years. Then, shifting from mere curiosity to overt advocacy, the remainder of the chapter explores how archival analysis might apply specifically to some of the more frequent questions that occupy new institutionalist and American political development (APD) scholars. It concludes with some practical tips for reconciling ongoing tensions between the ambitions and interests of institutionalists and those who support APD, on the one hand, and archival researchers, on the other.

THE CURIOUS ABSENCE OF ARCHIVAL RESEARCH IN CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL SCIENCE

Historically, some disciplinary trends and emphases in political science have been accompanied by new methods and methodological training that would diffuse, embed, and normalize new practices—new modes of research—throughout the profession. One notable expert on archival analysis (Skemer 1991) traced the twentieth-century history of political science and the role of archival research in that history.¹⁰ In doing so, Skemer both attributed the mid-century's decline of archival research to a rise of behavioralist questions and predicted that in the 1990s, "archival research by political scientists [would] increase" (367) because historical and institutional research seemed to be reemergent. Although this was a compelling and hopeful account that had intuitive merit, it assumed,

among other things, that political science methods follow, functionally, scholars' theoretical commitments and research questions.

Inasmuch as it is tempting to characterize disciplinary history as a progression from the old institutionalism to behavioralism and rational choice approaches and then again to the "new institutionalism," these never have been so much discrete eras as they are convenient, though incomplete, characterizations of the net balance of the discipline's relative affinities for humanism and scientism. Observing the recurrence of institutionalism across a range of social sciences over time, Dorothy Ross (1991, 1995), a preeminent historian of social science disciplines, argued that institutionalism recurs generally as an "opposition movement" and "a dissenter" to the "scientism of mainstream social science":

The scientific aspirations of American social scientists have repeatedly led them into excessive abstraction, formalism, reductionism. Institutionalists, drawing on historical values, attempt to restore the force of historical contingency, the agency of historical actors, and the contextually based continuities of social relations, ideas, and values that shaper their fields of study. (1995, 117)

Whereas political science has always dealt with what Ross called a "mixed allegiance to history and science" (118), the relative mix of these allegiances—including the relative strength of institutionalism—has ebbed and flowed over time. Still, it is fair to say that political science methodologies, training, and research modes have been less variable and increasingly have tended to emphasize political scientists' allegiance to science more than to history. Perhaps content to remain "opposition movements," resurgent institutionalists did little to develop and diffuse appropriate methods and approaches that would distinguish their methods from the methodologies that are more appropriate to behavioralists and choice theorists. Indeed, although Skemer correctly identified a significant trend toward historical institutionalism in the discipline, the predicted return to the archives failed to materialize, at least to a degree commensurate with

the actual resurgence of historical and institutional questions in the discipline.¹¹ Archival research remains atypical in political science.

This was not always the case. Early political scientists were institutionalists—the “old institutionalists” of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—who studied documents, including archives. Importantly, this was tied to their interest in history, jurisprudence, and institutionalism, wherein “critical evaluation of historical evidence gathered from books and manuscripts was still the recommended research method” (Skemer 1991, 359). But, if some of the first political scientists in America were armed with well-worn historical training and methods in the documentary analysis of constitutions, official records, and published papers, the behavioral era introduced new questions, and behavioralists invested significantly in transforming the methodology of the discipline to match their questions. Analytically, individual actors, key events, and consequential (if outlier) facts as potential objects of political study and qualitative study as a means of understanding and interpreting them had been shunted aside in favor of mass publics, behavioral patterns, rationalized explanations of those patterns, and quantitative methods and formal modeling as necessary for comprehending this complex of behaviors and choices. Thus, political scientists of the mid-twentieth century (whether or not they thought of themselves as behavioralists *per se*) were likely to receive graduate training in the accumulation and manipulation of large data sets and, for some, in the kinds of survey techniques that are necessary to analyzing public opinion, constructing national election studies, and the like. And, when behavioralism advanced, partially gave way, and in some cases, merely morphed into rational choice analysis in the 1970s, students were trained in new formal theoretical models and increasingly sophisticated statistical analysis, using computer programs such as SPSS, SAS, and Stata to facilitate the “new” methods of the “advancing” discipline. And, when political science departments go looking to hire a “methodologist,” this quite typically means they are searching for a quantitative scholar who is adept in training students in these methods, thus perpetuating behavioral approaches.

Archives, a remnant of the discipline's past, had been pushed to the corners by new theoretical commitments, questions, and training. During the height of the behavioral era, scholars convened at the National Archives to discuss the state of "invaluable and underutilized" federal records, and at least one bemoaned the "scanty underpinning of historical fact upon which many of the published articles" in political science and public administration journals were based (Hewlett 1975, as cited in Skemer 1991, 358). Grasping this reality, if hopeful for the future, Skemer identified several potential explanations for political science's dismissal of archives as a potential data source, including a "focus on the very recent past" (1991, 363), a "fundamental unpopularity of case-study methodology" (to which one could readily add a preference for quantitative over qualitative forms of evidence), and a downplaying of the role and importance of institutions in political science in favor of an emphasis on behavioralism and choice. Still, seizing upon the early trends toward the revitalization of historical analysis, qualitative methods, and institutionalism that were present and growing in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Skemer observed that political science might be returning to questions that would lead back to archival analysis; he counseled archivists to engage in "aggressive archival outreach efforts" (368) to political scientists and public policy scholars.

Much has been made of this new institutionalist and historical turn in political science since the 1980s. In part a challenge to behavioralism and the simplifying assumptions of rational choice theory, the new institutionalism, historical approaches, and efforts to "bring the state back in" asserted the primacy of politics and political institutions and offered a renewed emphasis on the role of institutions in providing order and legitimacy, in influencing and shaping the political preferences that were taken as given and foundational by many rational choice theories, and in both propelling and resisting change (March and Olsen 1984; Orren and Skowronek 2004; Skocpol 1995). Although there were several "new institutionalisms"—including organizational institutionalism, historical institutionalism, and rational choice institutionalism—the historical variety

served as a foundation for American political development (APD), an emerging subfield (described sometimes as an “insurgency” [Bensel 2003]) in the study of American politics that focuses its attentions on diachronic studies of American political institutions and the polity, culture, and policies.¹²

If there has been a historical turn in political science in recent years, there has been little to no accompanying innovation in methodological approaches and graduate training supportive of that turn. Despite the very real outreach of professional archivists and the opportunities that are presented by new institutional questions, the use of archives did not materialize in political science, at least not at a level commensurate with the resurgence, on all fronts, of temporal questions, qualitative methods, and institutionalism. If there is more openness to case analysis (Gerring 2004) and analytical narratives (Bates et al. 1998), the practical means of data-gathering of detailed historical and organizational evidence has been lacking. Although I would be the last one to advocate that archivists stop their “aggressive” efforts to reach out to political scientists, it is clear that archivists have not been the problem. The failure to connect political science research agendas with archival data sources likely rests with political scientists who seem contented to remain in the dark on some questions while shining floodlights on other topics, not coincidentally topics where data—and quantitative data at that—are more easily obtained.

What accounts for this curious lack of historical methods that might accompany the historical-institutional turn? Why have political scientists neglected archival sources? As has been chronicled elsewhere in this volume (in the introduction and chapter 1), in part, it is that they are lazy and prone to their comforts, archival research is costly, and they lack training in these methods. In addition to these very real obstacles, there are three additional reasons, deeply embedded in disciplinary history and theoretical commitments, that political scientists avoid archival research. First, political scientists do have different interests, questions, approaches, methods, and objectives than historians, and even the most “historical”

among them take pains to emphasize those differences. Second, it seems that as a discipline, political scientists are reasonably content with ongoing questions and are quite comfortable with the existing (and, as Frisch and Kelly point out in this volume, easily obtainable) data sources. Third, a result of all of the foregoing reasons, political scientists remain in the dark and uncertain about the content of archives and the relevance of that content to their own research projects and careers. They lack training in this mode of analysis and as a result, rarely become aware of what answers may be found in archival sources.

Distinguishing Historical Institutionalism from History

Perhaps one reason that historical institutionalists have failed to jump at archival opportunities is that they (and APD scholars) have not only offered themselves up as a “new” way forward in political science, correcting (as each preceding “new way” has) the omissions and errors of prior disciplinary trends, but they have also taken considerable pains to distinguish themselves from historians and the discipline of history. That is, they explicitly have refused a return to political science’s roots in history, continuing to stress the importance of theory development, patterned behavior, and standard operating procedures over the detailed analysis of institutional workings, key moments, and individual actors. Concomitant to this, it seems, most have resisted those methods that seem most appropriate for historians’ questions, even though they might have some value for their own questions as well.

Satisfaction with Existing Questions

As any American political development scholar might predict, the emergence of historical institutionalism did not wipe the slate clean of the discipline’s prior commitments, questions, and practices. This is, of course, as it should be: the behavioral and rational choice eras of the discipline produced many new insights and classic findings and foundations that unleashed a social scientific approach that stands as a cornerstone for theory builders and hypothesis testers in the discipline, whether or not they

utilize quantitative methods. And, even if it is valued only as a worthy opponent, behavioralism and its impulses repeatedly have spawned the new institutional impulse in the discipline.

Still, despite all of the advantages of maintaining a scientific focus on behavior and its goal-oriented motivations, this satisfaction is a recipe for maintaining theoretical and empirical blind spots and for allowing disciplinary stagnation more generally. The reason is best illustrated by following a mundane example. When one loses one's keys, why are they always in the last place one looks? Besides the seeming irony of everyday frustration, they are in the last place for logical reasons that are best considered in light of the two most likely alternatives. First, they are not in the second-to-last place that one finds them because one continues to look until they are found. And second, they are not in the "next place" one might look because one stops looking once one finds them—that is, locating one's keys satisfies the quest.

Where do political science researchers look for evidence, and what satisfies their intellectual quests? First, theoretical commitments have a self-fulfilling quality. A political scientist who is committed to the idea that political actors have goals and engage in instrumental behaviors in pursuit of those goals will either search for evidence of such purposive behavior until he or she finds it or will simply assume its presence and build models and report findings accordingly. A paradigmatic belief in goals sets a researcher in pursuit of a goal-oriented explanation, a pursuit that is likely not to conclude without finding a set of goals that will satisfy the researcher and feed the paradigm. This very pursuit precludes the possibility of discovering and recognizing that behavior is sometimes aimless, improvised, and rationalized by an actor only after the fact.

Moreover, political scientists come to learn how to match their paradigmatic and theoretical commitments to "modes of analysis" and data sets. When might a political scientist (or any scholar) stop looking for evidence, and how can that affect his or her research outcomes and the discipline more generally? Participating in a 1995 forum on historical

institutionalism, Morris Fiorina offered a “political scientist’s” critique of the endeavor as well as an exploration of the positive theory of institutions (PTI) in rational choice theory. In this account of how a rational choice institutionalist might approach a research question, Fiorina explained, first, that he was motivated primarily by an interest in theories of legislative delegation; second, that he had identified the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 as “the first major delegation of congressional regulatory authority” (111); and third, that he began looking for evidence of policy makers’ considerations of the logics of delegation:

For several years I worked almost full-time on this project. I read articles published in the nineteenth century and books that had not been checked out since the 1930s (no big deal for most of you, but I’m a political scientist!). I copied and read more than 1200 pages of the *Congressional Record*. I hired RAs and mapped economic characteristics onto the congressional districts of the 1870s and 1880s. I did some preliminary statistical analysis. And then I quit. (112)

He said he quit the analysis when “it became apparent...that delegation logics didn’t have much to do with passage of the ICA” (112) and because he believed “the story was interesting mainly to the extent that it shed light on the particular theoretical idea that motivated the study” (112); apparently reality was found wanting.

This fine scholar’s admission that the lack of evidence for his theory led him to drop the project altogether is, of course, but one potential response to such a pattern of research events. Other scholars, motivated more by an understanding of the Commerce Act itself, might drop the theory or search for a more appropriate explanation from another theoretical perspective. Still others might look for a refinement of the theory, an explanation as to its seeming irrelevance to the case at hand, or even seek to induce a new theoretical model. If scholars, driven primarily by theoretical commitments, look elsewhere when data sources fail to provide confirmation, then they never question the substructural aspects of their theoretical commitments. Thus, a commitment to the rational choice para-

digism sets scholars looking for rational, interested motivations for political behaviors (often leading them to continue to look until such motivations are found or simply to assume them when evidence of motivation is unknown or unknowable). Once they are satisfied that a “rational” explanation has been identified, scholars are apt to look no further for a potentially contradictory explanation or additional factors that would complicate explanation and analysis. Holding a primary theoretical commitment, then, conveniently reinforces the overall theoretical project. It is, after all, easy to develop, promote, and retain timeless covering laws, as some have an ambition to do, if one is willing to consider only the cases from history where a confirmation of one’s prior-held theoretical commitments is easily obtained.

Continued progress in the broader discipline, however, requires that no one set of commitments predominates and that political scientists resist being so quickly satisfied by their answers. Instead, they should ask, What more can be known? And, how can we begin to know it? Although political science benefits from having a variety of different scholarly tastes, skills, and dispositions, any tendency or bias in the discipline toward one set of tastes, skills, and dispositions can have broader consequences—positive and negative—for understandings of political institutions, behavior, and development.

Uncertainties Surrounding Archival Research

If the self-critical search for “What more can be known?” is good for any individual scholarly endeavor, it is especially critical for the discipline as a whole. What questions have not been considered? To what answers have scholars closed their eyes as a result of their theoretical commitments, research methods, and satisfactions? As a discipline, political scientists could be more open to theoretical and methodological pluralism and to retraining as questions and norms change over time. In its efforts to train graduate students and develop methodological norms, the behavioral “revolution” in political science was more complete and self-sustaining than new institutionalism seems to have been. Graduate courses

in scope and methods and the textbooks that are used in those courses have embraced behavioralism, taught its skills, and in doing so, proliferated and sustained its practice.¹³ And, despite some resurgence in qualitative methods training, graduate programs' research methods courses and political science methods textbooks continue to emphasize the kinds of sophisticated, quantitative methods and formal modeling that were developed for political science's behavioral era. Lacking training in archival methodologies, political scientists have been loath to venture outside their methodological comfort zones.

Political scientists' reluctance to engage in archival research seems to be a consequence not only of this lack of training but also of a general uncertainty as to the content of such collections and the relevance of that content to their questions. Will they find their answers in the archives? Indeed, as Frisch and Kelly correctly observe in chapter 1, a negative answer to this question involves not only a loss of precious time but also potentially the significant financial investment that is attendant to traveling to a collection or, more likely, numerous collections spread across the country to obtain evidence and data. Uncertainty surrounding this question and a general lack of models in the literature of how political scientists have used archives likely has dissuaded some scholars from making the attempt. Just as likely, the disciplinary norms being what they are, many never even consider archival research as a viable means of gathering evidence.

To be sure, archival methods are not of equal utility for all political science questions. At one level, it depends on the political scientist and his or her questions. Political scientists focused on theoretical questions who are looking for institutions and data sets to test and explore those commitments may, like the Fiorina example earlier, strike out and end up with a lot of costly paper and considerable wasted time. But for political scientists whose primary commitments are not theoretical but substantive—that is, they see theory not as the end but as the means of understanding political institutions and behaviors—archival research is much less of a gamble. If the primary interest is in how the Congress or the presidency develops,

how congressional incumbents campaign, how interest groups strategize to influence public policy making, how the public opinion industry developed and worked to legitimate itself, or any other of a myriad of substantive questions, documents waiting in archives offer important opportunities for insight.

A NEW MODE OF ANALYSIS FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE'S HISTORICAL-INSTITUTIONAL TURN

Archives can offer documentary evidence of the kinds of complex decision-making and strategic behaviors of political actors that conveys the behavioral reality of political actors working in real time and in contexts of uncertainty. Moreover, leveraging historical evidence and data situated in institutions, archival analysis offers the possibility of tracing institutional change intimately, as a historian might, but with a political scientist's eye toward theory development and testing. This is all to say that evidence in documentary sources meshes well with the questions that occupy new institutionalists and APD scholars.

Archives and the New Institutionalism

Institutions produce paper and lots of it. The process of "institutionalization" itself often involves the creation of organizational scripts, suborganizational structures, standard operating procedures, and the offices, forms, and procedures that allow such a complex institution to function with predictability, efficiency, and accountability. Moreover, officialdom and record keeping are on the side of those who wish to understand public institutions better because the kinds of official records that are retained for the purpose of public accountability are also maintained for posterity, and many eventually are opened for academic research. Until the most recent eras of computing and computer-facilitated communications, paper has been essential to the internal workings and the external monitoring of institutions. Paper trails are forged by even quasi-official organizations and can be an early sign of organizational innovation and change. Indeed, once

when I was trying to convince a colleague of the importance of two party-message organizations—the Democratic Message Board and the Republican Theme Team—it was only when I mentioned that they had letterhead that this colleague seemed convinced that these organizations were regular, ongoing, and important suborganizations in the House legislative parties and worthy of study. And, when I turned my attention to analyzing the political composition and activities of these organizations, it was the listing of all of the Republican Theme Team members on letterhead that facilitated my (2008) analysis of what types of members participated in these message organizations, so central to House party communications.¹⁴ Here and elsewhere, letterhead, meeting minutes, expense accounts and receipts, working papers, strategy documents, and memoranda are institutional paraphernalia that exist as evidence of the actual workings of organizations and their actors.

Intensive study of these documents meshes well with the questions that new institutionalist scholars pose and that have long separated them from noninstitutionalists in multiple disciplines. Scott—making explicit reference to Jacoby (1990)—cited four key points of departure between early institutionalists in economics and those of the neoclassical school as fundamental debates repeated across the social science disciplines, including political science. These ongoing debates center around questions of “indeterminacy versus determinacy,” “endogenous versus exogenous determination of preferences,” “behavioral realism versus simplifying assumptions,” and “diachronic versus synchronic analysis” (1995, 4).

First, indeterminacy versus determinacy: The search for determinant outcomes, functional markets, and efficient progress toward equilibrium points occupies neoclassical economists and the choice-based scholars they influence in other disciplines. Reading history back, it is easy to develop a post-hoc, rationalized story of how institutions and practices developed because they were needed, because they served some institutional actor’s strategic aims, or simply because their time had come. But

viewing developments from the perspective of individual actors operating in real time—as archival research allows—points up the uncertainty that is inherent in most moments of institutional flux and upheaval as well as the failed attempts, false starts, and trial-and-error learning that are attendant to any new institutional form or behavioral practice. Archives help scholars appreciate the difficulties associated with institutional change, the uncertainty and ambivalence of change agents, and the overall messiness of historical progress in real time.

Second, endogenous versus exogenous determination of preferences: How individual political actors' political preferences are shaped is a question that occupies scholarly debate, although this debate has generally been determined more as a matter of paradigmatic preference than empirical investigation. Some scholars express faith that basic human motivations—goals—are more or less fixed, and they build their models of political behavior and institutional analysis accordingly. Others see goals as malleable, affected by ideas, imparted by institutionalization, and sustained by norms or constrained by institutional rules, procedures, and processes. Some, following E. E. Schattschneider's famous claim that "people have ideas about interests" ([1942] 1970, 37), believe that identity, ideology, and even personality affect how individual political actors perceive, perhaps if only to rank-order, their multiple and potentially contradictory interests. Others, including some rational choice institutionalists, believe a political actor's preferences may also be affected by his or her political context, including where he or she may be situated in an institutional setting. Generally, one needs to appreciate that given the multiplicity of preferences that an actor might have, he or she may find a particular moment, decision, or institutional arrangement more or less hospitable to the expression of one of his or her preferences over others. Here, too, one finds that the institutional arrangement has played an important role in shaping the preferences that are at work in a particular political circumstance. And, sometimes, individuals may want to advance goals but find such an advance likely to be futile in a particular institutional context. What role, if any, do individual actors and events have amidst

the wash of other factors that are already embedded in and operating on a political system as well as the inertia that is inherent in many political institutions? These are complex problems that continue to occupy scholars across the social sciences, and the debates over these problems have been allowed to remain a matter of taste and theoretical preference rather than being subjected to empirical tests. To the extent that archival documents—correspondence, personal notes and diaries, and/or strategy memoranda—allow scholars to see consequential political moments through the eyes of individual political actors or as groups of such actors seek to coordinate, reconcile, and advance their common goals, evidence uncovered in archival collections can help them better understand whether and perhaps how the preferences of some political actors are shaped and how the contexts in which those actors act and choose might both foster and constrain the expression of those preferences.

Third, behavioral realism versus simplifying assumptions: Perhaps the true advantage of archival analysis is that it offers a view as to how politics actually works and, when the data are rich, how political actors respond to (and plan in light of) complex, changing, and uncertain environmental cues. Again, as with the determination of preferences, when scholars are data poor, they fill in the blanks, either letting theory guide (sometimes to the point of tautology) or allowing author imagination and interpretation to reign. As a social science, political science would be wise to check its theoretical ambitions and assumptions against actual evidence from the empirical world. Do politicians behave in practice as scholars expect them to do in their theories? Politicians are often apt to hide behaviors—some behaviors quite a bit more than others—and archives hold the possibility of pulling back the curtain and allowing observers a closer look at how politics actually happens. For years, political communications scholars have argued that political actors engage in strategic message framing and that the conveyance of those message frames has effects on mass opinion and behavior; still, there remained very little evidence that politicians “framed” messages in the self-aware and strategic way that political scientists’ studies have attributed to them. My

(2010) archival research in congressional party communicators' papers confirmed not only that Democratic and Republican legislative leaders alike did engage in multiple framing efforts but also that they understood framing strategies and self-consciously used the term *framing* when considering their actions. What if the alternative had been true? It is just as easy to imagine that political framing is epiphenomenal of years of embedded political-speak rather than the learned and coached behavior it actually appears to be. In any event, nailing down such expectations solidifies scholars' research projects and findings and provides a window on how politicians actually behave, standing all the while as a potential corrective to mistaken impressions and faulty assumptions.

Finally, diachronic versus synchronic analysis: Institutionalists are more likely to engage in developmental and comparative-historical (that is, diachronic) analysis rather than to assume or even search for universal and timeless theories of politics. Diachronic analysis includes the use of the "laboratory of history" (Cooper and Brady 1981b) for the purposes of testing social science theories, often in a comparative way, across eras. These within-country-but-across-eras comparisons provide snapshots of how the same political system or institution operates under different conditions and at different points in history (Burnham 1982; Cooper and Brady 1981a). It is in these kinds of studies that the causes and consequences of political change are likely to be in the sharpest relief. And, more generally, scholars deem as diachronic those studies that investigate "how [a system] acquired its features and the conditions that cause these features to vary over time" (Jacoby 1990, as cited in Scott 1995, 4). Both kinds of diachronic analysis require a flexible data set in terms of the time scope, better and more detailed evidence within eras, and more generally, an elaborate appreciation of an institution's context on multiple dimensions, including as those multiple dimensions might also change over time.

To the extent that institutionalists are interested in how things change, how preferences form, how politicians actually behave, and historical development and comparisons, a deeper appreciation of historical data

methods is warranted. Of course, political scientists' scientific aspirations counsel against relying too much on interpretive methods and interpretivist studies, but all scholars—formal and quantitative included—embed assumptions and overinterpret the data that they identify to the exclusion of possible alternatives. Political scientists are all interpretivists; if it is true that some are more interpretivist than others, it is also true that some hide it much better than others. There is no denying that archival researchers necessarily engage in interpretation to advance claims about behavior and institutional performance (and may do so more than many of their more “scientific” colleagues do), but those interpretations can be supported by documentary evidence from the politician's point of view. To the extent that scholars offer their readers evidence derived from archival materials, the readers can judge the veracity of the scholars' claims and the wisdom of their assumptions in light of the evidence they marshal. Such a “look and judge for yourself” presentation of data would go a long way to making interpretations of individual political actions and broader expectations of institutional change more grounded in empiricism and less reliant on mere theory.

Archives and American Political Development

Although APD scholars have an interest in all of the foregoing questions regarding institutionalism, it is to questions of “diachronic analysis”—the processes, causes, and consequences of institutional change (and change in the broader polity more generally)—that they direct the most attention. American political development emerged in the 1980s, consistent with—perhaps an offshoot of—the new institutionalism's interest in the historical development of institutions.¹⁵ It is the most self-consciously organized historical movement in political science since the beginning of the discipline.¹⁶ But, for all of this self-consciousness, this “historical turn” has not been accompanied by a greater appreciation, practice, and dissemination of historical methods.

APD took the impulse of the new institutionalism in a more deeply historical direction, focusing on the context of American politics. In full

disclosure, I teach APD and I consider its lessons and research accomplishments to be among the highest order of complex and innovative thinking and theorizing in political science. Moreover, it is full of gems of insight, anecdotes, and interesting fact patterns that enliven the mind and the classroom. In short, I am a fan of APD scholarship (though, as will become obvious, not an uncritical fan). I would argue that although it was suspected to be a mere trend in the late 1980s and early 1990s, APD has been a success—and a sustained one at that—with the potential to contribute to the ongoing historical transformation of political science with no less impact than the old institutionalism or behavioralism. And, as Dorothy Ross might add, it has been a powerful corrective to the reductive influences of some of political science's other theoretical bents.

Still, APD has had its blind spots (both substantive and methodological), and there are lingering question marks about the future of the subfield. First, as a Congress scholar, I willingly join in the critical observation that APD has underappreciated the role of the legislative branch, favoring instead a focus on administrative politics, courts, party politics, citizenship, and state development more generally (see Katznelson and Lapinski 2006). Of course, this is a criticism largely about focus rather than method. Still, it is quite ironic in that to the extent that APD scholars are focused not solely on political development but on a uniquely American political development, the singular importance of Congress in America (compared to legislative power elsewhere in the world) invites a closer consideration of the role of Congress in promoting American exceptionalism (see Roof 2011) and in shaping the American polity more generally.

Second, and more fundamentally, APD's grand ambitions for broad theorizing and doing so in a wide historical scope sometimes strain its ability to produce detailed historical work and empirically grounded, behaviorally real accounts of institutional development. Not only do APD scholars engage large swaths of time in their studies, but they are apt to stress the cross-institutional nature of their work as well; some even

make such a cross-institutional focus a differentiating characteristic of APD work. To be sure, when added to APD's commitment to studying historical change, this challenges the scholar's ability to provide behaviorally real, nuanced, and detailed accounts. At the same time, however, according to Orren and Skowronek,

the preference in the APD literature is for "thick" over "stylized" description of [historical] sites, descriptions that show an array of different pieces and how they are associated and also for process tracing—examination of the reverberations of a change and of carryovers that are largely unaffected by it. (2004, 21)¹⁷

But just how "thick" are the descriptions that APD offers, and how "thick" can they be if APD remains committed to broad historical scope, grand theorizing, and cross-institutional development? Some scholars seem to regard APD historical accounts (see Gerring 2003) as not "thick" enough, calling both for a greater appreciation of descriptive work and for greater specification of concepts and causation in APD studies (Orren and Skowronek 2004, 96–97). Even if they are less "stylized" than rational choice accounts, many APD accounts necessarily forsake detailed historical accounts for a focus on broad historical theorizing. Compared to historians, APD examinations often involve glossed interpretations of actual events and historical processes.¹⁸

Third, whatever APD's focus and ambitions have been, it largely has conducted its research (again, let me stress that there are important exceptions) without resort to archival research, leaving most of the detailed work to historians. If this is generally true of how political scientists use history,¹⁹ interestingly, APD scholars, too, rely on historians for more detailed analyses of events and actors and, problematically, treat those historical accounts as detailed fodder—even "fact"—for their theorizing.²⁰ Although history often provides sufficient resources, this reliance nevertheless subjects the quality of scholars' analyses to the trends and dispositions of historiography (see Lustick 1996). And, to the extent that they appreciate the long-held differences between the discipline of history

and that of science, political science cannot rely solely on the disciplinary outsourcing of its historical data-gathering.

History, however, is not simply the event analysis, case studies, and fact patterns that political scientists seem to treat it as. As Lustick correctly observed,

The work of historians is not understood by historians to be, and cannot legitimately be treated by others as, an unproblematic background narrative from which theoretically neutral data can be elicited for the framing of problems and the testing of theories. (1996, 605)

Instead, “background narratives are constructed, not discovered, and... they carry theoretical and perspectival commitments which raise significant problems for, and can invalidate, the use of history as a laboratory for social science” (Lustick 1996, 613). Understanding this, political scientists must appreciate the costs of off-loading their historical work to others. When possible, why should they not do some of the historical work themselves? To be sure, constructing historical accounts will be no less interpretive when it is political scientists who are constructing the historical narrative, but both the author and the reader will necessarily be confronted with that construction in process. An author using archival materials to uncover an account of events, behaviors, or institutional developments should be expected to present the evidence—describing and perhaps quoting from the sources—as well as to document and contextualize the evidence in a way that equips the reader to judge the value of the evidence and its ability to shed light on a problem or to resolve a question in a dispositive way. Political scientists’ current tendencies to cite a historian’s account (and even a contemporaneous news account) as fact, though it is understandable and often harmless to arguments and truth, nevertheless tends to render authors and readers alike less aware of the embedded and hidden interpretations that, directly or indirectly, went into the selection of a particular historical source and/or the construction of

a historical account that is taken—that is, mistaken—for a true and unaffected chronicling of events.

For political scientists to resist this outsourcing to history would require that they become more willing to admit of more historical, descriptive, and archival work. The discipline would have to place a higher premium on the development of “data” and information that inform scholars’ understandings—however derived—of politics. Whereas Gerring observed that political science’s interest in history relies quite a bit on the traditional writing of historians, he also argued that this might be changing and that political science would be wise to prepare for the likely “eventuality” that political-history writing will “expire”:

A return to grand history within political science, therefore, presumes the survival of a traditional style of political history-writing that covers the ground more closely. Traditionally, this case-study work has been provided by historians. Should this vein of history-writing expire, however—an eventuality that seems increasingly likely—it will have to be resuscitated by political scientists. This, in turn, will necessitate the revival of closely-focused, nose-to-the-grindstone efforts. There is no sense in turning to grand synthesis before some sort of empirical groundwork has been laid. Thus, the direction of political history within political science depends very much on the state of political history within history. (2003, 102)

Ultimately, even if balancing the twin impulses to cover more institutional and historical ground and to do so in a more detailed way proves difficult for any particular study, APD (and political science generally) would nevertheless be wise to continue both its high theoretical ambitions and its inclinations toward better understanding the behaviorally real in American government and politics. By balancing its interest in its paradigm-pushing grand theory with an equally necessary paradigm-filling detailed empirical work, APD could push ahead on both fronts.

This would require, however, that APD resolve its identity crisis, even if by embracing it. Caught between the ambitions of some scholars to transform political science as a discipline and the desire of others to maintain the subfield's "insurgent" quality (Bensel 2003), APD leaders are uncertain of how to build upon their successes. In response to Gerring's (2003) recommendations that APD normalize its questions and approaches in the discipline (by, it seems, integrating them with more generally accepted political science methodologies), Skowronek wrote:

APD has been a great success in several respects. The question, it seems to me, is whether in the wake of this success it can retain a distinctive voice... What previously passed for an agenda is now common wisdom... All this leaves the field at what practitioners themselves might recognize as a critical juncture. Absent more careful consideration of what the APD project is—of what distinctive and collective contribution its practitioners have to make to the understanding of politics today—it stands simply to dissolve away or become absorbed into everything else. (2003, 110)

No lesser leaders of the APD movement than Bensel and Skowronek, then, seem to see the stakes of this normalization as more of a risk than an opportunity. Where others might see the improvement of political science's understanding of institutions and political change as a paradigmatic shift that could improve the understanding of politics generally, these scholars seem to be just as interested in protecting their insurgency as they are in normalizing and proliferating their perspectives. Without a reconsideration of this, it seems likely that the end result of this identity crisis will be that APD will remain content to correct, as institutionalists have in the past, the excesses of the discipline's scientist aims (Ross 1995).

If, however, APD pursues the ambition of some to transform the overall disciplinary orientations, then this effort will be incomplete until political scientists train graduate students and colleagues in new methods and modes of political analysis. Could archival methods be the future of APD? Why not? Should they follow Gerring's advice that they engage in more

“nose-to-the-grindstone” historical research, political scientists’ appetite for archival sources might, at long last, increase. Archival resources, heretofore largely the historian’s domain, offer a number of potential benefits for APD scholars. For example, as Congress (hopefully) becomes more integrated into the APD project, there is a great abundance of archival resources that can help chart the development of Congress as an institution, demonstrate its complex interactions with other branches and interplay with the broader polity, and show its primary role in the development and oversight of the public policies that shape America (Arnold 1982). Beyond the study of Congress, there are several potential applications of archival sources and methods to questions typical of APD. Indeed, this criticism about the lack of attention to Congress notwithstanding, even APD’s initial focus on administrative politics and the development of the state as well as the origins and consequences of public policy seems to represent an opportunity missed, because other scholars have found archival resources particularly useful in policy studies, particularly from the perspective of administrative agencies (Skemer 1991, 358). By the same token, Amy Fried’s exploration (in this volume) of how archival research has accompanied the “historical turn in public opinion research” is but one example of how archives can be put to this use. Tracy Roof’s deep engagement with labor union archival sources (also in this volume) sheds important light not only on union politics and labor strategies but also on congressional politics and the centrality thereof to American policy making and welfare state development.

So long as APD regards as central to the endeavor their insurgent identity freed from disciplinary norms or the kinds of cross-institutional analysis that bridge state and polity or multiple institutions, it may well be that rigorous primary research is untenable (Lustick 1996, 606; Skocpol 1984, 382). What would make APD’s grand ambitions sustainable would be a duality of effort both to produce theories and to test those theories across institutions and eras. Importantly, doing both well is likely to involve APD scholars engaging in the kinds of detailed work of archival analysis that are in evidence throughout this volume. What better future

for American political history could there be than to adopt a historian's tools but nevertheless retain a political scientist's eye and appetite for theory?

The Kinds of Evidence Archives Have to Offer

Scholars who are interested in behaviorally real, behind-the-scenes information concerning actors and institutions as well as in how those actors perceive institutional context even as it changes over time will find in archives a mountain of evidence to feed their research agendas. In my own research in the documents of congressional leaders, I have identified several types of documents that I believe might fit into broader categories of documentable actions and behaviors across institutions and prove useful to many different political scientists, especially historical institutionalists and APD scholars. That is, if the examples below are Congress-specific, the broader categories are likely to be in evidence (though to different degrees) in the archival holdings of officials and organizations in the executive branch, the judiciary, interest groups, political party organizations, public opinion and media organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and individual actors. These documents, after all, are the work product of politics in action.

First, archival materials contain memoranda, letters, and correspondence that connect an institution's actors to one another and to those other relevant actors outside the institution with whom they interact. In terms of the documents uncovered in congressional leadership archives, examples include the wealth of "Dear Colleague" correspondence that members of Congress use to make policy statements aimed at coalition building and persuasion and to discuss internal legislative procedure and politics as well as less formal, ad hoc correspondence between two members, a member and a legislative leader, two legislative leaders, or even between legislators and the president or other actors in the White House. These latter documents provide insider information on behind-the-scenes negotiations and relationships that are important, if *sub rosa*, aspects of internal congressional politics. Among the richest types of institutional corre-

spondence are letters and memoranda between principals and staff or among staff members within the same congressional office. One notable example of this can be found in the papers of Republican House Leader Robert Michel (R-IL); documented among this large collection are interoffice memoranda between Michel's leadership office and his personal and district offices in Washington and Illinois, respectively. The sometimes contentious disagreements among his own staffers over how to improve Michel's image and balance his multiple responsibilities demonstrate well the puzzle that confronts House leaders as they balance their personal, party, and institutional responsibilities (on this, see Green 2010). More generally, these kinds of deeply behind-the-scenes correspondences offer the kinds of frank exchanges that allow a researcher to follow along as a political enterprise (Salisbury and Shepsle 1981) seeks to identify its weaknesses and solve organizational or political puzzles.

Second, archives contain the kinds of planning and strategy documents that shed light on how real-life political actors perceive often complex and uncertain contexts and make decisions and choices of action in light of those perceptions. One advantage of this elite actor-centered investigation is that scholars might be able to see the political or institutional landscape—the complex of multiple and potentially contradictory contextual factors—as their research subject and his or her staff see it. Instead of relying on theoretical, hypothesized relationships between one or a few contextual factors and an actor's choice, scholars benefit from seeing the political terrain through a politician's eyes—at least as those perceptions might be articulated in documents—as the politician reveals his or her professional political sense of what factors might affect such complex decisions. Data, reports, arguments, and opinions supplied to decision makers by constituents, policy experts and think tanks, interest groups, and other policy makers are frequently in evidence in archival holdings and offer the researcher a more complete sense of the various kinds of information that are available to decision makers and the dilemmas that are produced by some complex choices. Of course, a wise researcher will be aware both that not all that a politician considers in making such decisions

is in document form and that not all documents that are possessed and retained by an office have been considered equally or seen or considered at all by a member of Congress, a president, or any political actor. Still, the sometimes vast range of available information provides a scholar with a better sense of institutional context and might even introduce that scholar to a whole other political or policy dimension than he or she had previously considered. As with participant observation (see Fenno 1986), developing closer contact with research subjects by examining their papers can reveal more about how politics actually happens.

Third, documents in manuscript collections include organizational artifacts and work products. In addition to the official records of a congressional committee, a caucus or conference meeting, or the legislative floor itself, there are many less-formal organizations that operate within Congress, playing important and consequential roles. The quasi-official documents of these organizations provide the institutional researcher with detailed information that would otherwise be unavailable. From Carl Albert's Information Task Force to Newt Gingrich's Conservative Opportunity Society, serious congressional innovation and development begin in informal quasi-organizational settings that are not "official enough" to require regular reporting (by law or congressional rule) but are both consequential enough to merit scholarly attention and formal enough to take on the organizational processes of attendance, taking minutes, and formalizing divisions of labor in written form. To be sure, these congressional leadership examples have their analogues in informal working groups and task forces operating in other political institutions, the kinds of venues where policy makers and those who seek to influence them brainstorm, guess, debate, measure, reconsider likely political and policy outcomes, and speak frankly (even as they are developing but a nascent sense) about their political objectives and circumstances. Such evidence allows institutionalists to flesh out a historical record that is likely too hidden and detailed to occupy some political scientists but too organizational, standard procedure, and "inside baseball" to attract a historian's attention. Still, for those scholars who want to know how Congress, the White

House, or judicial chambers actually work day to day, these documents can be a gold mine.

Fourth, as Frisch and Kelly suggest in chapter 1, archives contain the kinds of behind-the-scenes data and analysis that even quantitative political scientists could mine and explore. Like many other institutions, Congress is awash in information about policy and politics. Whether it is produced internally (that is, by the institution itself) or supplied to the institution by friendly and interested actors with whom they interact, this information provides a window on the relative balance (and complexity) of choices and tensions that are inherent in any political decision. When it is viewed in light of the subsequent authoritative decisions that are made, it might provide a clearer picture in any political or policy battle of who won, how much was won, and why. For example, it may be true that a certain policy enjoys a high degree of public approval in published polls, but uncovering the poll results that an individual decision maker was using can shed new light on how he or she perceived the public opinion context as well as the amount of detailed cross-tabulations and analytic metrics that a politician or a party deemed more important than just published approval/disapproval figures for making a particular decision. The data that political actors peruse, collect, and produce is rarely subjected to the kinds of rigorous hypothesis-driven analysis that social scientists engage in, whereas these same kinds of “finds” that would aid a historically oriented scholar’s analysis would otherwise be lost to the historical record. Gathering this information is a significant opportunity for political science’s scientific and historical impulses. By the same token, even more publicly available documents such as the transcripts of leadership press appearances or their press conferences, which may or may not be collected or readily available to scholars, are often located in one place in a leadership archive, thus making an archival trip well worth it whether the researcher hopes to quantify or contextualize with rich descriptions.

In these and other respects, the evidence, information, and data contained in many archival collections exist to address critical historical

and institutional questions confronting political scientists. No advocate can honestly promise that a scholar will find his or her answers in a particular archival site. But scholars who are looking to drill down a bit deeper than examinations of the official records of the American national government, those who are in search not only of officialdom but also of the behind-the-scenes, behavioral reality of how organizations actually work, will find important insights and evidence through sustained archival research across several repositories.

CONCLUSIONS

Political scientists' avoidance of archival analysis has been a serious and costly mistake, particularly as the discipline has returned to institutional and developmental questions. New institutionalists and scholars of American political development would deepen both their understandings and their analyses through a more sustained and intentional engagement with archival resources. And, even if more of these scholars do so in their own work, political science's historical turn will not be complete until political scientists train their students and colleagues in appropriate historical methods and those methods appear alongside quantitative methods and formal modeling on graduate programs' scope and methods syllabi. Is it not a little ironic that the behavioralists were better at building the institutional support and sustenance for their paradigmatic projects than the institutionalists were?

I do not mean to suggest that only archival methods can unlock the questions that occupy historical institutionalists and APD scholars. To be sure, scholars' methods and data must be appropriate to their questions. No one is as aware of the limitations of archival methods as is a practitioner of those methods. Scholars engaging in archival research must endure the sometimes slow plodding of the endeavor and the not infrequent frustrations due to the incompleteness and unevenness of the archival record. Still, despite these problems, archival methods remain a potent source of

information and inspiration for scholars who take organizational structures and their impacts, behavioral reality, and institutional change seriously. My hope is not for a new methodological hegemony centered on archives but instead for a proliferation of the kinds of theoretical and methodological eclecticism that are necessary to understand more about something as complex, multifaceted, and human as politics and government. My advice to colleagues, then, is to read on in this volume with both a curiosity for what else political scientists might be able to learn and know and with an active interest in exploring how the evidentiary discoveries and analytical advances of these fine scholars might be analogized to and replicated in their own research questions.

ENDNOTES

1. On the concept of modes of analysis, see Fenno 1986; I have addressed some of these issues previously in Harris 2009.
2. For a contrast of these different modes of analysis, see Harris 1998 and Harris 2005.
3. This is an appropriate place to acknowledge the good work and assistant of archivists at the following collections to which I have traveled, which inform this chapter, and some of which are cited in the notes in this chapter as appropriate. Thanks to the archivists at the following collections: the John McCormack Papers, Special Collections, Boston University (JWM); the Carl Albert Papers at the Carl Albert Research Center, at the University of Oklahoma (CAC); the Thomas P. O'Neill Papers, Special Collections, John J. Burns Library, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts (TPO); the Jim Wright Collection, Mary Couts Burnett Library, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas (JCW); the Papers of Thomas S. Foley, Special Collections, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington (TSF); the Robert H. Michel Collection, Dirksen Congressional Research Center, Pekin, Illinois (RHM); the James H. Quillen Papers, Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University (JHQ); Records of the House Democratic Caucus, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC (HDC); the Richard A. Gephardt Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri (RAG); the Richard A. Arme papers, Carl Albert Center, University of Oklahoma (RAM); John Brademas Papers, Office of University Archives, Elmer Holmes Bobst Library, New York University, (JB); the papers of Eddie Boland at the John J. Burns Library, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts (EB); the papers of James G. O'Hara at the Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan (JGO); the papers of Sam Gibbons, Special Collections, University of South Florida (SG); the papers of Frank J. Thompson at the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University (FJT); the Morris K. Udall Papers, Special Collections, University of Arizona (MKU); and the Papers of Representative Newt Gingrich, Special Collections, University of West Georgia (NLG). I am pleased to acknowledge the support of the Everett McKinley Dirksen Congressional Research Center and the Caterpillar Foundation, the Carl Albert Center, and Loyola University Maryland, which supported

my travel to archives and interviews with congressional staff. Thanks also to Speaker Newt Gingrich and the staff at <http://www.newt.org>, who allowed me early access to the Gingrich papers.

4. Joe S. Foote memorandum to Carl Albert, 1/9/73, Speeches Box 18, Folder 6, CAC.
5. Joe S. Foote memorandum to Carl Albert, 1/6/75, Speeches Box 20, Folder 59, CAC.
6. Joe S. Foote memorandum to Carl Albert 5/27/75, Speeches Box 20, Folder 60, CAC.
7. Albert handwrote this response on Foote's 8/3/73 memorandum, Speeches Box 18, Folder 7, CAC.
8. Joe S. Foote memorandum to Carl Albert, 6/18/75, Speeches Box 20, Folder 60, CAC.
9. On the first point, see Gamm and Shepsle 1989 and Swift 2002; on the second point, see March and Olsen 1984.
10. I strongly encourage the reader to read Skemer's (1991) work on this topic for its detailed analysis of the evolution of political science and the place of archival research in that evolution. What follows in this section is a critical examination and extension of that excellent source.
11. This is a good place to acknowledge that scholars, including many of the authors in this volume, have returned to the archives. Still, the number of those who have done so is small and the opportunity costs to the discipline are, I believe, significant.
12. Even its top practitioners differ on exactly what American political development is and should be; see Gerring 2003, Bense 2003, Skowronek 2003, and Smith 2003. Still, an excellent statement of some of the aims of the subfield (as well as an acknowledgement of the debates swirling around those aims) can be found in Orren and Skowronek 2004.
13. Even at the more qualitative graduate program where I did my PhD studies, the research methods courses focused almost exclusively on quantitative methodologies.
14. Although the membership of the Theme Team in the 106th Congress was publicly available, complete rosters were unavailable for Democrats or for Republicans in other Congresses. Several Democratic Message Board and Theme Team rosters were uncovered in archives; the membership list of the Democratic Message Board in the 101st Congress is from the papers of Speaker Thomas S. Foley, Cage 655, Box 418, folder "Press Files/1990/Democratic Strategy," TSF. The 103rd Theme Team roster is from the letterhead of the Theme Team in Lamar Smith "Dear Republican

Colleague,” February 4, 1994, JHQ. The 104th Theme Team roster was located in a Martin Hoke letter dated March 14, 1996, F “Omnibus CR,” Box 2263, NLG.

15. It should be acknowledged that many APD scholars are as much focused on stability as they are on change.
16. Indeed, what follows is largely an analysis of several roundtables and exchanges among APD practitioners on what the subfield is and how it should be considered by its practitioners and the rest of the field.
17. Although there are impressive APD works that focus on one institution (Tulis 1987; Schickler 2001), APD has prized analyses that escape traditional subfield boundaries that focus on one institution, such as the Congress, the presidency, or the courts.
18. Defending APD against the criticism that it ignores methodological questions, Skowronek wrote, “The criticism I get from historians runs just the other way: that APD is too intent to cut through the gristle to some allegedly deeper truth, that our analyses are too preoccupied with establishing general propositions and illustrating overarching concepts” (2003, 107).
19. This is, of course, true of more traditional and scientific political science. Morris Fiorina wrote of the value of history to the positive theory of institutions: “PTI scholars are not attempting to displace other kinds of historically oriented scholars; PTI scholars need them. PTI scholars value social science history precisely because most PTI scholars are not going to do the comprehensive, detailed historical research. Rather, they will rely on historians to describe the processes and institutions and identify relevant data” (1995, 112). The extent to which scholars such as Fiorina who consume historical information vastly outnumber the political scientists who might produce that kind of information represents a serious deficiency in the discipline—and an unsustainable one which leaves political scientists no option but to rely on the work of historians.
20. As Ian Lustick (1996) has pointed out, historians do not regard their work this way.

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CHAPTER 3

PULLING BACK THE CURTAIN

ARCHIVES AND ARCHIVISTS REVEALED

Linda A. Whitaker and Michael Lotstein

Those who do not themselves use the Archives are indirectly affected by the ideas and findings of those who do. This is the Multiplier Effect: the research done by a few political scientists, social scientists, and historians cumulatively informs the work of other academics, as well as government officials, journalists, and the public at large.

—Bartholomew H. Sparrow, University of Chicago

ANSWERING THE CALL

With the exception of an enterprising few, political scientists have been out of the archives for the past fifty years or more (Skemer 1991). This means that nearly three generations of political science scholars have little or no experience with primary sources. In a parallel universe, nearly three generations of archivists have had little or no contact with political scientists. The Frisch-Kelly call for political scientists to return to the archives is both timely and serendipitous (Frisch and Kelly 2003, 2004, 2005, 2009).

It challenges the thinking within both disciplines and in turn promises to invigorate the professional literature (not to mention the professionals themselves), increase collection use, and improve reference services to political scientists. Returning to the archives could not come at a better time because it takes advantage of the sweeping changes in the archival profession—most of which are intended to benefit the researcher.

This chapter attempts to bridge the fifty-year hiatus with an accelerated reentry into the current archival environment. It is intended to provide insights for both the researcher who is new to archives and the archivist who may be asked to think in data sets. Though political scientists have been largely absent from special collection reading rooms, they are coming back. For those who remain unconvinced, our goals are to demystify the archives and provide an “insiders’” guide to archival research. This is to assure the political scientists who answer their colleagues’ call that archivists are willing partners with a vested interest in a researcher’s success. For a discipline such as political science which is driven to count things, archives provide a wide range of countable opportunities.

AN AERIAL VIEW OF THE ARCHIVAL LANDSCAPE

The Language and Culture of Archives

Archives? What, like, Government Documents?

We have Gov Docs in our library.¹

Archives have rituals, customs, and a language all their own. If one cannot speak the language, one cannot ask the right questions. Understanding the rules of engagement and the basic differences between a library and an archive are fundamental to navigating the system. This is called doing one’s homework, and if it is done well, the gates will give way to a brave new world.

Archives are largely distinguished from libraries by their rare, unique, original material that has not been commercially published. Archives (a physical repository or a virtual database) are where many primary sources can be found. The Society of American Archivists (SAA) defines archives (as well as an archive) as

materials created or received by a person, family, or organization, public or private, in the conduct of their affairs and preserved because of the enduring value contained in the information they contain or as evidence of the functions and responsibilities of their creator, especially those materials maintained using the principles of provenance, original order, and collective control; a permanent record. (Pearce-Moses 2009)

Primary sources are defined as

material that contains firsthand accounts of events and that was created contemporaneous to those events or later recalled by an eyewitness. Primary sources emphasize the lack of intermediaries between the thing or events being studied and reports of those things or events based on the belief that firsthand accounts are more accurate. Examples of primary sources include letters and diaries; government, church, and business records; oral histories; photographs, motion pictures, and videos; maps and land records; and blueprints. Newspaper articles contemporaneous with the events described are traditionally considered primary sources... Artifacts and specimens may also be primary evidence if they are the object of study. (Pearce-Moses 2009)

To insure that rare, unique, original (think priceless) documents are available for the largest number of researchers for the longest period of time, security measures such as prohibiting food and beverages and requiring visitors to sign in, show identification, remove backpacks, and view items under supervision in a reading room are *de rigueur*. The material does not circulate, which means that nothing can be checked out. Note that government documents, even rare and endangered print material, can be found in open stack areas.

How archival material is described bears no resemblance to the standard publication or book format that is found in library catalogs. The archives call numbers are unique to the repository and reflect many items aggregated together into a collection. The archival descriptions vary significantly and depend on an archivist to create them.

Who Archivists Are and What They Do

Forget whatever dusty images come to mind when archives or archivists are mentioned. It was never true back in the day and is light years away from those stereotypes today. Political scientists of the 1950s would not recognize the contemporary research environment and archival setting; the staff and reading rooms bear little resemblance to those of the past. The sleepy world of rare books and manuscripts has been replaced with a beehive of activity.

There are many reasons for this, not the least of which is educational preparation and the profession's response to technology. In the past forty years, the position of an archivist has leaped from that of a shop apprentice (no degree required) to requiring graduate degrees for entry-level positions (O'Toole and Cox 2006). At the heart of this progress has been a quest for a distinct identity, parity with other professional disciplines, and public visibility. The very nature of the work defies a high profile. It is by turns quiet, solitary, behind the scenes, and analytical. Archival work can be found in print, in library and museum exhibits, online, in podcasts, on listservs, on blogs, on YouTube, on Facebook, and on Twitter. In other words, archivists can be found everywhere, though it may not be obvious. Know this: What archivists do is neither a walk down memory lane nor a serene contemplation. The work cannot be neutral.

Archivists play a decisive role in "shaping the historical record" (Blouin 1999; Cook 2001; Greene 2002; E. Kaplan 2000). What they collect, what they discard, how they describe material, and how they connect material, not only to researchers but to other materials, are direct responses to the very nature of twentieth- and twenty-first-century records. What

archivists do, how they do it, and why they do it affects the meaning, context, and interpretation of archives. They are forced to be pragmatic and are largely driven towards use and value over universal truths or absolute objectivity. In the process, they move, shovel, squeeze, edit, and reject. Astute observers outside the archival profession have recognized (and perhaps have compensated for) these facts of archival life when they conduct research. Unfortunately, archival decisions are rarely disclosed in a finding aid or personally witnessed by researchers (Light and Hyry 2002).

The archival enterprise shares common ground with the evolution of political science. Like political scientists, archivists have moved away from certain tenets of historians (Cook 2009; Skemer 1991). Over the years, archivists looked elsewhere for methodologies and concepts that advanced their own theories and practices. Driven by technology, archivists have appropriated information science as “the mother discipline” (Greene 2003–2004). The archival profession now fits squarely within other applied sciences such as archeology, engineering, and information technology. In this first decade of the twenty-first century, half of the five thousand archivists in the United States come from library and information science (LIS) programs.

Archivists are omnivorous and like to hunt. They are hard-wired to search across disciplines, formats, and other repositories for answers. They are always on the lookout for historic material held by private individuals, agencies, and organizations—original sources that may not appear in any archive. As political science becomes more interdisciplinary, archives should be viewed as simply one more area for investigation. Political scientists must go wherever the data lead, even if it means planning an assault on archival barricades.

You Can Run but You Cannot Hide

Like political scientists, LIS scholars and practitioners have adopted observation and measurement tools. Studies of information-seeking

behaviors and the use of source materials as well as repository and researcher surveys dominate the professional literature. It should come as no surprise that political scientists appear in the library and archives literature. Frisch and Kelly may be relieved to know that many of their observations reported in 2009 have been independently confirmed in the findings of this research.

As the objects of study, much is known about the source preferences, aversions, and unsuccessful searches of political scientists, whether in the library stacks or online. Political scientists along with economists are among the largest single users of government documents (Hartnett 2009). Political scientists share common ground with researchers from other disciplines: they do not like microforms, they are reluctant to ask a librarian for assistance, and they prefer to work outside the library system and to go it alone (Straw 1993). Many archivists understand and may secretly agree with these sentiments, but the difference is that they would not walk away without an answer.

Based on information-seeking behavior studies, the list of “failures to find” for political scientists is instructional. The most frequently reported areas of frustration are (1) out-of-print federal and congressional documents, (2) gray literature (print and electronic documents that were not commercially published), and (3) older regional newspapers (Straw 1993). The fact that government documents rank first in what political scientists (arguably the connoisseurs of the Gov Docs genre) cannot find offers a teaching moment.

The avoidance behaviors described earlier combined with the nature of these elusive primary sources is the perfect research storm. The formula for failure could read: researcher habit + resistance to change ÷ X time + energy expended = ± meaningful yield. Assuming some readers have encountered similar frustrations, what follows is a mini boot camp on Gov Docs. This spares the shyest of scholars from the embarrassment of having to ask. If one is to appreciate the research potential of congressional collections, one must start here.

Listen Up

In the spirit of what Skemer (1991) described as “aggressive archival outreach,” let us review the types of official federal publications (print and electronic) that are found in a typical library Gov Docs department. These sources include but are not limited to bibliographies, indexes, and directories to all levels of government; department and agency reports, budgets, and statistics too numerous even for political scientists to count; congressional biographies; congressional hearings; the Congressional Record; Congressional Research Service reports; committee prints; statistical abstracts; census data; judiciary and executive branch documents; the U.S. Code and rules; the Federal Register; patents; maps; election results; campaign financial reports; economic data from multiple sources; and grants. And that is why the U.S. government is the largest single publisher in the world.

To be sure, many of these materials are notoriously difficult to find and may be impossible to locate in one library or in a database, especially county and city publications, which often require an on-site visit. Every state has a state library and a state archives. Arizona is in the small minority that combines these functions, but state librarians and state archivists will acknowledge just how difficult it is to enforce agency compliance with depositing their records.

The thicket known as Gov Docs is an acquired taste among librarians. Those who are drawn to it are not only knowledgeable, but they also have a passion for the material. Most have created handouts for researchers because the federal classification system is like none other. To add to the muddle, new federal digitization initiatives have the effect of adding more layers to the search without eliminating the need to rely on print material. Gov Docs librarians find themselves in the midst of significant change.

Many of the remaining 1,250 federal depository libraries (down from 1,400) do not have their pre-1976 holdings represented in their online catalogs. As much as 20 percent of this material is congressional (Hartnett 2009). Of these survivors, most are “selection depositories” that carry only

a fraction of the available government material. There are one or two “full” depositories in each state—usually academic libraries—that retain a copy of all government publications. The exception is Wyoming, which has no federal depository and is not served by a regional depository.

A Gov Docs librarian will know where to find these hidden sources locally or elsewhere. If certain congressional documents cannot be found online using the LexisNexis® Congressional database, ask about the microfiche set produced by the Congressional Information Service from 1789 through the present. It includes an impressive number of unpublished materials. A monthly index of federal publications dating back to 1895 is also available. If a researcher wants to chat online, Government Information Online (<http://govtinfo.org>) connects users with librarians who have “a specialized knowledge of agency information dissemination practices as well as expertise in how to use government information products, resources and or publications... These librarians are dedicated to helping users meet their government information needs.”

Since the 1980s, there has been a trend among libraries to discard older Government Printing Office (GPO) physical material in favor of all things digital. Some librarians, trying to rescue old, fragile federal publications and transfer them to their rare books and manuscript departments, have been rebuffed because this material is not viewed as rare or unique. Why? Originally, these publications were widely distributed and therefore are assumed to be ubiquitous. For lack of a better term, federal documents of a certain age have become an endangered species.

This has significant implications for archivists who traditionally have pulled committee prints and other GPO documents from collections and transferred them to the Gov Docs department. The downstream effect for researchers is no less significant. Note that GPO Access is transitioning to the Federal Digital System, or Fdsys, in order to keep up with changes in technology. This is touted as a more sophisticated and robust database for finding federal publications. Does this mean that everything a researcher might need is now digitized? Of course not. The information captured in

this new database is described as “contemporary” and dates back only to 1994. Gov Doc librarians now troll the GPO “Needs and Offers List” for the very publications that were tossed earlier in favor of online sources. But if a researcher is microform averse *and* does not want to ask a librarian—anything, anytime, anywhere, anyhow—the fact that a federal document might be at the library is moot.

Here is the irony: the kinds of material that are on the political science “failure to find” list abound in congressional collections. For government documents, there are committee prints (published and unpublished), debates and testimonies, party campaign and party policy committees, hearings (open and closed), party vote analyses, and agency budgets. For gray literature, there are federal grant applications (tribal, corporate, academic, nonprofit) with supporting statistical analyses, corporate technical reports, research data, policy impact studies as background for testimonies in legislative hearings, patent applications with technical reports, white papers, memos, economic forecasts, budget analyses, and topical reports submitted by think tanks, task forces, government contractors, the Department of Defense, and the GAO. For regional newspapers, there are news clippings provided by a daily professional clipping service (local, regional, and national), mounted in scrapbooks and continuously maintained by staff for the duration of the officeholder’s career—standard operating procedure for all members of Congress. In the Goldwater papers alone, there are 195 scrapbooks of news clippings from 1935 to 1985, all digitized to searchable CDs. This is low-hanging fruit that is ripe for picking.

Harris, Kelly, Frisch, Parker, and a growing number of investigators may not see congressional papers as exactly easy pickings, but they do agree on their research value. They want metrics, longitudinal analyses, and a fresh way to test theories. Congressional collections meet or exceed those criteria. They include a wide variety of quantitative documents and in great numbers—archivists just have not described or viewed them that way. The records usually span a sufficient number of years to conduct

longitudinal studies. Congressional newcomers start as a “class” and can be viewed as a cohort until they leave office. How did they behave as a class over time? Who rises to the top and who gets left behind? Leadership studies, political ecology, corporate political activity, and institutional studies are fascinating and critical to the understanding of complex inter-relationships. Archivists do not have to understand the statistical computations that are applied to research problems in order to appreciate the fresh perspectives of the findings.

Most of the documents described here are largely untapped, are often ignored by historians, and have rarely—if ever—been used to create data sets. What does all of this mean to the political scientist? The time has never been better for doing archival research.

MODERN COLLECTIONS, COLLECTING, AND COLLECTION MANAGEMENT

Dilemmas of the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries

By now, the savvy reader should be asking, If the material is so rich and the timing is so good, why are not more political scientists using it? This has less to do with pushing the research norms of political science than one may think. Even the most adventurous, inspired, and motivated find the going rough (Harris 2009; see also chapter 4 in this volume). Their observations, frustrations, and cautions are the very same that archivists have voiced for the past forty years: bulk (way too much), redundancy (duplicates of duplicates), missing data (not created, not collected), impermanence (never meant to last), and bias (overdocumentation in one area to the exclusion of another) (Ham 1984). This is the very essence of twentieth-century collections and will likely hold true for those in the twenty-first century. Never has so much been collected and finding useful information been so difficult. Gerald Ham described this pandemic as “the noise and distortions of a badly tuned television set” (1984, 12). Today, the same could be said of the Internet and social networking.

The issues associated with contemporary collections and congressional collections in particular are well documented in the archival literature. Congressional collections were identified early on as significant contributors to the avalanche of material that threatened to bury the archival enterprise and to drain repository budgets. The staggering national backlog has stirred heated debates about ethics, access, and collecting practices. It was called an archival crisis then. It is an archival crisis now. Many congressional collections languish in repository backlogs, hidden and relatively unknown to archivists and researchers alike. How big are these backlogs?

They are so big that the Bienen Library at Yale closed down for a year and did nothing but process its backlog. They are so big that Mark Greene at the American Heritage Center at the University of Wyoming was driven to develop a revolutionary but disciplined approach to emancipate the best material from the backlog and eliminate the rest (Greene and Meissner 2005). They are so big that some backlogs equal or exceed processed collections. Given the magnitude of the task and the general lack of resources to accomplish it, none of this should come as a surprise except for one thing: it has galvanized the archival profession—not known for moving at a hurried pace—into a rush for solutions.²

Invariably, it falls to the newest archivist with the least experience to process congressional collections. Many vow never to do it again. Further, these collections contain every size and type of paper product and format known: audiovisual tapes and reels, film, albums, vinyl records, newspapers, photographs, audio cassettes, dictation belts, key punch cards, memorabilia, and artifacts, to name a few. This makes them difficult to process, difficult to describe in traditional library catalogs, and expensive to store and also calls for special preservation techniques that are beyond the scope of most repositories.

Congressional collections are the poster children for all of the archival sins and excesses of the modern age. These are the “bad boys” of the archives world. They are notorious for their bulk and complexity. Congressional collections span gender, race, party affiliation, geograph-

ical distribution, and media format. The records are at once local, regional, and national in scope. They are ubiquitous yet unique. They can be found in repositories large and small and in every corner of the country. Frisch and Kelly described this diaspora as “not exactly tourist destinations” (2005, 1). Understanding how these collections got that way will help to explain the inherent unevenness, omissions, messiness, and unpredictability from one collection to the next.

These characteristics, endemic to congressional collections, appear to concern political scientists (Harris 2009). However, it should not be the limiting step in using archival material. The topography of a collection may slow navigation, the materials may require interpretation, and the arrangement and description may inadvertently introduce bias in selection. Once these confounding factors are identified, analyzed, and reported, scientists in all disciplines internalize, accommodate, and move on.

The top twenty senior U.S. senators have been in office for twenty-three to fifty-one years. The records generated by a typical senator’s office have been estimated at one hundred linear feet or one hundred large boxes annually (Aronsson 1984). Each large box holds approximately 2,200 documents. Based on the 1984 calculations, the number of boxes (2,300 to 5,100) and documents (5,060,000 to 11,220,000) that could be found in the senior senators’ collections is staggering—even for archivists who prefer big puzzles. From all anecdotal reports, the records generated per year since 1984 have increased despite the advent of electronic records. For the political scientist, that is all the more to count.

Along with the alarming rate of backlogs, doubt was cast on the research value of congressional collections when they were measured against the costs to process them. Additionally, there was a steady decline in their use (Aronsson 1984). The approximately two hundred U.S. archivists who work with this material must make the case that these collections should be a priority for processing and that they should be actively collected when the resources are there to support them. Critical to the success of making

these collections sustainable is an appraisal by an archivist before a collection is donated and transferred. Many trials and tribulations of repositories, donors, and archivists could be avoided with this one initial step.

Appraisal is “the process of identifying materials offered to an archive that has sufficient value to be accessioned” (Pearce-Moses 2009). For reasons that are discussed later, archivists are often not involved when institutions are courting congressional papers. Be aware: archivists do not save everything, particularly in congressional collections, but neither do they throw things away indiscriminately. There are standards and best practices established just for these collections. Given the expense for storage, preservation, and access, some administrators see these collections as underutilized and not worth the expense. Some repositories (wisely) will no longer accept congressional collections, recognizing their incapacity to support them. But for those that do, the opportunities are nearly endless.

The life cycle of these collections, from creation to citation, impact what can be found in the descriptions online and in the folders in the reading room. The gulf between the computation of data sets (relatively inexpensive and efficient) and the uncertain terrain of twentieth-century records (comparatively expensive and inefficient) can be disorienting, cause doubt, and make for difficult choices in the field (Skemer 1991). All of these points are true, but such is the nature of scientific investigation. In the end, the lure of discovering something totally new and unexpected may prove irresistible. What follows is a “natural history” of the typical congressional collection.

How Congressional Collections Are Created

It is important to understand that congressional collections are hybrids in the archives world—they are neither strictly governmental records nor strictly personal papers (Aronsson 1984). Also, it should not be forgotten that they are generated and stored at taxpayer expense. Most of the documents that are found in these collections were created as a result of the

functions of the elected official and his or her office staff. They include, but are not limited to, congressional committees and caucuses, committees of political parties, commissions, legislative agendas, bills, constituent service, staff projects, and campaigns. Functions of the individual/position/office are the building blocks for how these collections are arranged. Official committee records are preserved by their respective houses in Congress.

In 2008, H. Con. Res. 307 formally recognized the historical importance and research value of congressional members' papers. For the first time, members were charged to "take all necessary measures to manage and preserve" their papers, which "serve as indispensable sources for the study of American representative democracy." Senators and congressmen, therefore, are officially encouraged but not legally bound to donate their papers. Many give them to their alma maters or various state institutions, which explains their wide and often remote distribution.

Up until the first Senate office handbook was published in 1985, there were no records management guidelines. This handbook identified records that were temporary or permanent. The guidelines were voluntary then and remain voluntary today. The elected official and his or her office staff determine how they manage their records and files. The disparity from one congressional collection to the next starts from the day the first documents are generated and filed. These differences often reflect the personalities creating the documents. Those scholars who are familiar with Senator Harrison Schmitt's office files say he saved everything. Senator Dennis DeConcini, in contrast, did not. His office files, though they are sparse, concentrate on the essentials: staff meeting minutes, staff lists and assignments, and office protocols and procedures. The files of his legislative directors, legislative aides, and administrative assistants are remarkably intact and include background material, analysis, memos, day-to-day contacts, conversations, and reports on special assignments. In Senator Barry Goldwater's office files (administrative series), there are

few internal staff communications, but the volume of material on federal nominations is significant.

Attempts to influence and standardize office filing systems continue to this day. Guidelines for opening and closing Senate offices have been developed. The Senate office records management handbook was revised in 2003. It was not until 2006 that a similar manual was created for the House of Representatives. Most congressional offices have now adopted more systematic practices for managing records. In the near term, archivists outside the beltway know they will be receiving congressional collections that bear little resemblance to established records management protocols. This means that researchers and archivists will continue to find these collections uneven and unpredictable.

Retention schedules such as those outlined in the House and Senate handbooks inform the office staff of what to keep and what to throw away. The guidelines were developed by Senate and House archivists who sought to protect material with research value. The concept of research value requires a sidebar because it directly affects political scientists and may explain what is and is not in a collection.³

Enduring research value is a frequently used term and a recurring topic of discussion in archival literature. In the lexicon of archivists, research value is tied to current and future use among other criteria. According to Elsie T. Freeman, it is also in the eye of the beholder. She argued, "Records are inert until they are acted upon by the human mind...records do not exist until they are used" (1984, 118). Research value, therefore, is not the same as historical value. Records, especially twentieth- and twenty-first-century documents, are not museum artifacts. Research value has often been defined by user studies, information-seeking analyses, and surveys of historians. As a group, historians feature prominently in the archival literature, suggesting they are the largest and perhaps the most significant users. A search using *historian* as a keyword reveals that 1,732 articles about or relating to historians have appeared in the *American Archivist* since it was first published in 1938. What about political scientists? For

them, there is but one article, and that is Skemer's persuasive argument to think beyond the reference needs of historians.

Are historians the biggest consumers of archival material? They certainly use collections intensely, but do they outnumber everyone else? Based on our observations, the answer is no. Urban planners, political scientists, geographers, environmentalists, architects, archeologists, engineers, lawyers, journalists, geologists, educators, government officials, authors, film documentarians, social activists, photographers, designers, genealogists, high school and college students, campus visitors, and alumni outnumber historians in aggregate and on any given day. Archives are not, may never have been, and should never be the domain of one discipline (Brooks 1951; Skemer 1991).

The ramparts were breached long ago. The democratization of archives has occurred over time, which provides ballast for the archival enterprise and unlimited opportunities for archivists. This bodes well because none of the researchers listed previously use *any* archival material to create data sets that measure the problems or questions that are generally studied by political science.

The records of congressional members that do survive the retention schedules are usually stored in Suitland, Maryland. The boxes are warehoused free of charge for up to one year after the officeholder leaves Capitol Hill. For some, the disposition of their papers is methodical and deliberate, with a repository identified well in advance (e.g., Senator Orrin Hatch). For others, especially those who unexpectedly lose an election, die in office, or suddenly decide not to run, the exodus can be swift and disorganized (e.g., Senator Dennis DeConcini). Those who seek reelection or have other political aspirations often keep their papers, which end up in basements, garages, attics, or warehouses. Often the boxes are moved multiple times. When congressional papers arrive at their final archival destination, they may no longer resemble how they looked on Capitol Hill. Much of the Goldwater material had stops along the way.

The Acquisition Dance

How do congressional collections come to a repository? The answer is, not easily and often not in a straight path. First and foremost, these collections can generate a political climate all their own. They tend to be high stakes, high profile, and come with even higher donor expectations. Generally speaking, the higher the political profile, the more repositories throw their hats into the ring. The higher the stakes, the more promises are made. When a highly valuable collection becomes available, there will be competing interests. And so it was in 2008, when the fate of Senator Pete Domenici's papers was played out in the media.

Competition and controversy arose when two of New Mexico's largest universities vied for the privilege of housing the Domenici collection. In the end, his alma mater lost to the rival institution, which offered an impressive package: a Domenici Archives in the campus library; the Domenici Legacy on Public Policy Conference, held annually and featuring prominent speakers; the construction of a building and garden to honor the senator and his wife; the Domenici Institute for Public Policy; and the publication of a book on Domenici's career. This required a financial commitment that few public institutions could sustain. In this case, a blue ribbon fund-raising committee was created to support various elements of the agreement. Fund-raising is ongoing.

Few of these negotiation points or peripheral agreements are reflected in the deed of gift that the donor and repository representatives sign. A deed of gift is "an agreement transferring title to property without an exchange of monetary compensation" (Pearce-Moses 2009). This is a legal, contractual agreement between the donor and the repository or institution. It establishes the conditions governing the transfer of title and sets out any restrictions or conditions for use. In academic institutions, the signatory of this legal instrument could be the dean of libraries and/or the head of special collections but is frequently the university president. For a high-profile congressional collection, the archivist may not be consulted, especially if he or she is new in the position or was hired as a project archivist,

a position which is often temporary and on soft money. Agreements with the institution apart from the deposition of papers may not be known or fully understood by those who are charged with managing the archival materials.

Nothing challenges public relations for an institution more than an unhappy donor who also happens to be a former congressman. A recurring issue is the time it takes to make the materials available. Many deeds of gift come with a vaguely worded phrase such as “the repository agrees to make this collection available in a timely manner.” If funding is not forthcoming, collections may be processed intermittently as time and money allow or may sit untouched, sometimes for years. Library directors who inherit these collections may see this as an unfunded mandate. Complaints from well-placed donors to an institution’s president or governing body are not unknown and can have lasting effects. Donors have threatened to remove papers, citing the failure of the repository to fulfill the obligations stated in the deed of gift. Sometimes, the family takes matters into its own hands.⁴

More institutions are asking for funds to support these collections before they arrive. The papers of Senator Ted Stevens at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks (UAF) underscore the size, costs, and compromises that come with congressional collections. British Petroleum donated \$500,000 to fund their processing.

We were pretty upfront that we were going to need some money because of the sheer mass of this. When we say [there are] 4,500 boxes, I don’t think people realize how big that is. UAF didn’t have the funds or work force to deal with such an enormous archive. Without the grant from the oil company it would have taken decades to sort through the archive. (Development Officer Naomi Horne, Rasmuson Library, as cited in Richardson 2009)

Of interest to researchers and outside observers is the fact that the original documents and materials still belong to Senator Stevens or his heirs.

According to the agreement, the collection may be transferred after ten years to a university library in Anchorage if a facility there can house it.

The collecting environment described here is not for the faint of heart, but it does typify the background of many congressional collections. These scenarios are so commonplace that they inspired *Managing Congressional Collections* by Cynthia Pease Miller (2008). This manual was written for three audiences—the officeholder, the repository, and the archivist—all of whom have obligations of stewardship. Although it is too soon to measure the impact, this publication establishes best practices for all three parties.

Ultimately, all of these factors—access, the condition of the materials, the ability to navigate the bulk, making sense of gaps in the records, locating unprocessed collections, and finding someone with enough institutional memory to answer questions—converge to affect the researcher.

Processing, Arrangement, and Description

Processing is “the arrangement, description, and housing of archival materials for storage and use by patrons” (Pearce-Moses 2009). For a congressional collection conceived outside of a records management program, a radical makeover may be needed to render it into something useful.

Under the best of circumstances, it is messy, time-consuming, and expensive work. The level of processing varies considerably across collections and repositories. This contributes to the wide disparity and unevenness that are reported by researchers. Processing times reported in the literature vary significantly depending on the type of collection. From the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s, articles about processing times and costs dominated the journals.

Figure 3. Archivist Mary Anne Hamblen in the storage warehouse with the Ted Stevens Papers Collection (2010).



Source. Marjorie Thompson (photographer).

In 1985, Terry Abraham at the University of Idaho conducted a study attempting to establish baseline processing rates and to calculate the time between the arrival of material and when it was made available to researchers. This project was inspired by the introduction of word processors, which had greatly streamlined creating the finding aid. It was called a watershed in preparing a collection for research use. Abraham found that photograph and oral history collections (congressional collections have both formats) took forty-seven hours to process one cubic foot and on average remained on the shelf for thirteen months before the processing began. Manuscript collections (fairly uniform typescript material) took thirty-six hours per cubic foot and on average stayed idle on the shelf for eighteen months. For the purposes of this study, a large collection was defined as greater than one cubic foot—microscopic compared to the congressional goliaths.⁵ The bottom line is that even with the advent of word processors, the business of traditional processing was and is glacial.

Very little about processing is transparent. It generally occurs behind closed doors. Occasionally the collections are removed to an off-site facility that has adequate space. Rarely are these collections processed in full view of the patrons in the reading room. Once the fanfare announcing the donation of papers dies down, the material typically sinks out of sight until it emerges some years later as a collection that is open and available for research. Processing is rarely reported while it is work in progress. Archivists working with the Goldwater papers broke with tradition. The Goldwater progress notes were posted on the web over a five-year period. They were targeted at several audiences: the Arizona state legislature, who allocated \$529,000 to insure the long-term preservation and access to the collection; the family, friends, and former staff members who had voiced many concerns through the years; researchers who were curious about access; a board of directors who were unfamiliar with archival procedures; and colleagues who were interested in demystifying what archivists do.

Due to limited space and staff, processing migrated into the reading room. There were risks, criticisms, and warnings about this move; much

of the concern had to do with security breaches, theft, or interference from patrons—none of which happened. The benefits (teaching moments, shared discoveries, researchers' questions, observations of how the material was used) far outweighed the risks. Transparency proved to be a grand experiment. A narrative and images on the Internet plus a physical presence in the reading room demonstrated how an archivist tactically thinks about disorder, physically wrestles with it, and finally wraps it into a package that meets archival arrangement, access, and preservation standards. These before and after images speak for themselves.

Proposed by Greene and Meissner in 2005, "more product, less process" (MPLP) is a pragmatic response to backlogs that makes collections available to researchers more quickly. Among other things, this means not weeding duplicates, not removing metal clips or fasteners, having minimal arrangement, and using the original folders and boxes. The time and money spent per box is dramatically reduced and the collections move far more quickly into researchers' hands. The trade-off for this accessibility is that the description of materials may also be minimal, resulting in more time spent locating documents. MPLP has captured the attention of (and, some people fear, polarized) the entire archival community. Many repositories have adopted or modified the technique and report favorable results. For unfunded collections, which represent the majority of repository holdings, this may become standard practice.

There is a trend among repositories to make unprocessed collections known and available to researchers. Some repositories list these online. As with MPLP, there is a trade-off for gaining access to new, unprocessed material. These collections are often chaotic and may not have basic inventories, and their contents may be largely unknown. They require much more time to navigate. Reluctant archivists, concerned about sensitive material and privacy, may be more willing to allow access if the researcher offers to make an inventory of an unexamined box. A little cross-training and exchange of skills can go a long way towards forging partnerships.

Figure 4. Personal and political papers of Senator Barry M. Goldwater before processing (2003).



Source. Arizona Historical Foundation, Hayden Library, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona.

Figure 5. Personal and political papers of Senator Barry M. Goldwater after processing (2009).



Source. Rebekah Tabah (photographer).

Arrangement is “the process of organizing materials with respect to their provenance and original order, to protect their context and to achieve physical or intellectual control over the materials” (Pearce-Moses 2009). A series is the fundamental building block in arranging a collection. Think of series as chapters that represent the functions and the formats of the records that are found within a collection. Formats refer to specific types of material, such as news clippings, photographs, memorabilia, film, videos, audio recordings, CDs, DVDs, and so on. As an aside, the media series in congressional collections can be a persuasive and powerful adjunct for a researcher. But, as David Parker notes in chapter 4, many formats and the equipment to use them are plagued with extinction. *Function* refers to the purpose the documents served for the creator

of the collection (usually the donor), such as committee files or campaign records.

Series provide the internal structure for the arrangement and description of the collection. Series dictate how the finding aid looks and is the key to navigation. Series can be used as outlines to locate where certain kinds of documents are found. This becomes critical in large, complex collections such as congressional collections. Basic series for congressional papers include but may not be limited to personal, legislative, constituent service, administrative, media, and artifacts/memorabilia. This is discussed further in the “Anatomy of a Finding Aid” section.

Description is

the process of creating a finding aid or other access tools that allow individuals to browse a surrogate of the collection to facilitate access and improve security by creating a record of the collection and by minimizing the amount of handling of the original materials. (Pearce-Moses 2009)

This means the researcher must navigate a document (often hundreds of pages in length) that is representative of the collection itself. Entire collections are not pulled for casual browsing. Original materials in their twentieth-century fragile formats do not lend themselves to constant handling. Note that the quality and quantity of descriptions vary considerably from finding aid to finding aid and from one repository to another. The older the collection, the less likely it will adhere to the more standardized descriptions of today. Finding aids share certain features. Knowing what to look for and how to ask the questions will spare the researcher unnecessary expense and frustration.

Locating archival materials and making sense of them is a universe apart from data mining online polls or election results. The differences between what a researcher sees online or in a library catalog and the quality or quantity of material he or she needs are critical. Studies have shown that researchers often fail to make the association between a finding aid in

the reading room and how it is represented in a library catalog record or online encoded in special software (Yakel and Torres 2003). To make a successful leap from cyberspace to reality, the wise researcher will contact the repository and ask pointed questions.⁶

ANATOMY OF A FINDING AID

A finding aid is “a tool that facilitates discovery of information within a collection of records” (Pearce-Moses 2009). It is the most important document in a search and will help researchers sharpen those questions. Will the collection serve a researcher’s needs? Is a trip warranted? The finding aid, unique to the archival profession, comes in many guises. Without it, a collection is nearly invisible.

Finding aids were created before there were library catalogs and were largely kept in special collections reading rooms. Many of these can now be found on repository websites, in library catalogs, and within topical collection guides. As a result of multirepository collaborations, there are state and regional listings of archival collections, such as the Online Archive of California, the Arizona Archives Online, and the Rocky Mountain Online Archive.

Finding aids are comprised of descriptive elements known as “front matter,” which introduces the collection to the researcher. It has been said that archivists write finding aids for each other, not for the patron (Freeman 1984). This may be true, but there are few if any alternative proposals on the horizon. For better or worse, think of a finding aid as the archivist’s thesis.

Collection-Level Description

A finding aid will typically begin with a collection-level description that includes the title of the collection, the date range, the call number, and the physical description (the number of boxes within the collection and the linear or cubic footage). At a glance, this gives the researcher a good idea

regarding the size of the collection. These collections can span hundreds of boxes extending many linear feet. In most cases, congressional collections are the largest collection of records held by an archive. The following sections of the finding aid contain statements relating to provenance, copyright, and access restrictions.

Provenance

Provenance is “the origin or source of something; information regarding the origins, custody, and ownership of an item or collection” (Pearce-Moses 2009). This refers to who owned the collection prior to its donation. The term also represents a fundamental principle that the records or documents in one collection are never mixed with the records of another collection in order to insure context and authenticity. This allows the researcher to better understand the document itself and maintains the research value of the collection as a whole.

The provenance statement (usually very brief) describes how, when, and by whom the collection was donated to the repository. This explains the legal transfer (the deed of gift) of physical property from its creator to the archives. Deeds of gift will have a clause stating that the donor has the legal right to give the collection to an archive. This protects the archive from fraud or legal action. The provenance statement also alerts the researcher to any potential problems within the collection and may explain gaps in dates, incomplete files, and missing materials. The phrase “deposits made serially” could indicate that these materials were not processed or cataloged at the same time or were processed years after the initial donation. If the collection comes directly from its creator(s) to the repository, the likelihood of loss, theft, or damage is significantly diminished.

This raises the question, How does one know if a collection has been interfered with (apart from the manipulations that are incurred during archival work)? Skeptics often ask if a congressional collection has been purged of incriminating or controversial documents by the donor, his

staff, or the archivists themselves. It certainly happens and has happened at the highest levels of government. But is the practice common? This is doubtful given the vast amounts of documents that are generated during a congressperson's tenure. Unless documents are reviewed daily for compromising content, removed, and destroyed, a serious purge would have to occur sometime before the shipment to a repository. At this stage, the office staff is looking for jobs and the bulk of records may be in transit or already stored in Suitland, Maryland. This makes an item-by-item inspection of documents highly unlikely. Even deleted electronic records can be recovered from hard drives.

The lament regarding modern congressional collections is that they are comparatively "sterile" and devoid of personal information (Lucas 1978). This has less to do with purging and more to do with how records are generated, used, and filed. Documents of a personal nature (family correspondence, legal matters) usually do not show up in a congressional collection. The personal series in congressional collections is intended to capture biographical information, campaign materials, and personal VIP correspondence—pre- and post-political career records.

A notable exception to twentieth- and twenty-first-century "sterility" can be found in the personal and political papers of Senator Barry M. Goldwater. The material in the personal series, as described in the introductory scope and content note, reflects his "personal interests and pursuits, life-long relationships, family business, public and private service, achievements, private musings and observations, and his deep knowledge and love of Arizona." This series is both rich and voluminous.

Copyright

Copyright is

a property right that protects the interests of authors or other creators of works in tangible media (or the individual or organization to whom copyright has been assigned) by giving them the

ability to control the reproduction, publication, adaptation, exhibition, or performance of their works.(Pearce-Moses 2009)

Copyright applies to intellectual, not physical, property. A repository may own a collection of papers or photographs, but the author or photographer may retain copyright. This means that the researcher may view the material and take notes but may not be able use a document or image in a publication. Note that posting to the Internet constitutes a publication.

The circumstances of ownership for a body of records are explained in the copyright statement. It is never a guarantee that a donor will transfer copyright to a repository. If the archival institution does not own the copyright to a collection, it is incumbent upon researchers to contact the copyright owner to secure permission to publish, display, or redistribute information from that collection. Although the copyright holder is afforded certain rights under U.S. law, there are limitations to those rights. Section 107 of federal copyright law governs “fair use” of materials for the purposes of criticism, comment, teaching, and scholarship. Fair use depends on four specific criteria:

1. The use is for nonprofit educational purposes.
2. The nature of the copyrighted work is not infringed upon.
3. Only a certain percentage of the material is used in relation to the whole body of materials.
4. Use will not unreasonably impact the potential market for this material in the future.

In terms of congressional collections, any publication produced by the Government Printing Office (GPO) is considered public domain under section 105 of federal copyright law. The researcher should look for a GPO attribution within a document to verify its status. Note that state or local government publications may contain copyright stipulations. The provisions of section 105 also apply to certain types of unpublished documents within a congressional collection. Any documents that are created by a

member of Congress or his or her office as a part of official duties are in the public domain. Any personal papers or unofficial documents, such as campaign records and personal memorabilia, may be under copyright, depending on the donor agreement. Note that congressional collections also contain massive amounts of copyrighted material that are sent to the officeholder.

Restrictions

The access restriction statement will explain any prearranged restrictions to an archival collection. Archival institutions will generally do their utmost to ensure that no access restrictions are imposed on any collections in their custody. The concept of “equality of access” has been a hallmark of modern archival practice in the United States. Archivists are sometimes bound by physical and legal restrictions that require them to deny or restrict access to collections. Occasionally, archivists will invoke restrictions to protect confidentiality or individual privacy.

Physical restrictions are often provided for materials that are extremely fragile or sensitive to light and/or temperature and must be housed under strict climatic and luminescent conditions to ensure their physical safety. For example, a statement of restriction from the finding aid for the papers of Congressman Paul N. McCloskey at the Hoover Institution reads:

Access Boxes 611–651 closed. Access to audiovisual materials requires at least two weeks advance notice. Audiovisual materials may include sound recordings, video recordings, and motion picture film. Hoover staff will determine whether use copies of the materials requested can be made available. Some materials may not be accessible even with advance notice. Please contact the Hoover Institution Archives Audiovisual Specialist for further information.

Legal restrictions may come from the donor of the collection. Arrangements of this nature may potentially restrict access to portions of a collection during the donor’s lifetime or after a proscribed period following the donor’s death. This often occurs to protect the privacy of the donor or

other figures related to the collection. Archivists work very closely with donors to craft the language of these types of restrictions as a part of the deed of gift. Current archival practice calls for the inclusion of a sunset date for any negotiated restrictions in order to ensure access to archival materials in the future. An example of a statement of restriction comes from the finding aid to the Thomas Gayle Morris congressional papers at New Mexico State University Libraries:

Access and use of files containing personal information is restricted to protect the privacy of individuals still alive. Users agreeing not to reveal personal information may use these materials for statistical research and reporting provided no individually identifiable information will be disclosed.

Another variation can be seen in the Goldwater papers:

This collection is unrestricted except for certain family correspondence which is closed until 2023. Although considered sensitive, case files (48 boxes) have been retained and are available to researchers. Contact the archivists or librarians for conditions and permissions of use.

For congressional collections, restrictions may be invoked by federal statute or national security. U.S. Senate committee files are restricted for twenty years; House of Representative committee files are restricted for thirty years. Senate and House restrictions imposed on official committee records do not legally bind repositories that are in possession of personal copies of committee material. In the Senator Dennis DeConcini papers, restricted materials concerning nomination files for the Supreme Court are closed for fifty years, or until January 2044.

Archival institutions should have policies in place for the researcher to petition a review and reconsideration of access restrictions based on his or her research needs. Repositories are well aware of the negative perceptions that restrictions invoke. The belief that someone is trying to hide

something can persist long after restrictions are lifted. Most public institutions will no longer accept collections with onerous restrictions.

Deeds of gift can be renegotiated, especially if the archivist makes a case with the donor. Unbeknownst to them, two editors of this book were the beneficiaries of such an intervention. The original deed of gift signed by Senator DeConcini restricted access to his papers until the collection was processed—years off at the time. The exception was his biographer, who was allowed access to all material. Scott Frisch and Sean Kelly called to ask about committee assignments. The information they wanted was there. The archivists contacted the senator, explaining the ethics of equal access and the nature of the research. Would he change the restrictions? He agreed and signed off on the change in less than a week. This brief period is significant considering that the original deed of gift took nine months to negotiate. Frisch and Kelly got their documents and were none the wiser. Moreover, it paved the way for other scholars, who would no longer have to delay their research until the collection was fully processed.⁷

Biographical/Historical Note

This section is a brief summary of the functions of an organization or a biography of an individual to document the functions, activities, events, and changes that are essential to understanding the records. It is neither a definitive narrative nor an interpretative work. It is intended to serve as a chronological exposition of either the formal workings of an organization or the highlights of an individual's life. A separate chronology may also be included and is very helpful in orienting the researcher to time and place at any point in the collection.

Scope and Content Note

The more interpretative elements of a finding aid are contained in the section known as the scope and content note. This is a summary of the subjects, formats, conditions of materials, and the special features of the collection and arrangement. The scope and content note should distinguish

whether the arrangement of the collection reflects original order or if order has been imposed on it. It also should disclose information that explains weeding, sampling, gaps in the record, and circumstances that influenced the arrangement and description—anything that may affect how the user plans his or her research strategies.

Due to its high research value, controversies over access and use, deteriorating condition, and multiple attempts at processing, the scope and content note for the Goldwater papers lists seventeen specific archival interventions that were taken for preservation, arrangement, description, and access. This stripped the archival decision-making process bare, first in a background narrative, then in a bulleted list of findings during the appraisal. Researchers should pay attention to scope and content notes because they summarize what can be found and what likely is not there. Think of it as an abstract for the kinds of documents, date ranges, topics, highlights, and unusual features of a collection. Scope and content notes prepare a researcher's mind for the territory ahead and ideally set up a visual readiness to recognize the material as he or she moves through folders.

Series

If the finding aid is the archivist's thesis, then series are chapters that give the collection its structure. Series are unique sets or general headings that provide a road map for the researcher. This is an archival technique that is intended to impose order, improve discovery, and aid in overall storage and retrieval. At a glance, series in a congressional collection should inform the user where to find specific information, such as photographs, correspondence, committee files, and campaign materials, without having to scroll through the entire finding aid.

Series represent either the function of the records or the historical context of the records as they were created. Series may also be artificial in nature—a logical system created by the archivist to impose order on a collection that had no discernible or systematic order. Series may

also reflect media formats such as microfilm, photographs, and memorabilia. The number of storage boxes within each series may also be noted, followed by a description of the series' contents. The following is an example from the papers of Congressman Eldon Rudd at the Arizona State University Libraries:

The Eldon Rudd Papers contain correspondence, transcripts, news releases, speeches, articles, and printed matter which range in date from 1962 to 1987. The bulk of the material dates from 1977 to 1986 and constitutes the written communications and study materials collected during Eldon Rudd's tenure in the United States House of Representatives. It is arranged in six series: Correspondence, Publicity and Public Presentations, Legislation Files, Case Files, Resource and Subject Files and Issues Correspondence.

Often, descriptions of significant items within the series are provided to give the user a greater sense of what the series contains. What an archivist will identify as significant may be based on advice and guidance from the donor or on research performed by the archivist on other primary and secondary sources that are relevant to the contents of the collection. For large archival collections, quality series-level descriptions can be a valuable resource in narrowing the parameters for a search within a finding aid. An example of a series-level description comes from the papers of Congressman Eldon Rudd at the Arizona State University Libraries:

The Correspondence Series dates from 1977 to 1986 and is arranged in four subseries: Legislative Correspondence, Departments and Agencies, Organizations and Groups, and Trip Files. The Legislative Correspondence subseries comprise general and congressional committee correspondence from the years 1977 to 1979. Departments and Agencies contain correspondence from 1977 to 1980 regarding the legislative concerns of various governmental organizations. A selection of these folders pertains to the movement to require metrication of weights and measures in the United States. These are box 51, folders 13 to 13c; box 54, folders 9 to 12; box 56, folders 1 to 11; and, box 57, folders 1 and 2. Organizations and Groups include correspondence regarding the

legislative concerns of private organizations during the years 1977 to 1980. The Trip Files subseries contain correspondence regarding legislative proposals which were discussed at conferences outside of Washington, D.C. during the period 1977 to 1986.

Series: Constituent Service

There is no other way to say this. Constituent service is the bane of a political papers archivist. It is not unusual for a repository to receive constituent mail in sacks, jammed in boxes, or just scattered loose among the more ordered material in folders. Depending on the topic and volume, congressional offices may not be able to collect all of the mail in one place, let alone answer it.

A number of influential archivists have appraised the research value of constituent mail and found it wanting. The reasons given were repetition, bulk, and homogeneity, such as the use of postcards stamped with identical messages, preprinted letters sent in batches that are indistinguishable from each other, and well-orchestrated campaigns from groups that apart from the first letter have little informational value (Aronsson 1984; McKay 1978). It has been observed that opinion letters differ very little except in volume from letters to the editors of state and local newspapers. Congressional offices maintain statistics on constituent opinion, so why would a researcher need to examine the bulk? Further, the opinions that are stated in constituent mail are often at odds with local polling data on the same topics. Lastly, voluminous constituent correspondence occupies and competes for prime shelf space at the expense of other collections. A mundane issue such as space dictates critical decisions in libraries and archives.

The death knell sounded when archivists began to report that few if any researchers used constituent mail, so why, they asked, should they save all of it? The solution was to use random sampling techniques, weed the series down 80 percent, and call it good. One of the first experiments in sampling was based on advice and recommendations from experts in economics, statistics, and mathematics. Further, it was suggested that for

statistical purposes, a scholar would need as little as 2 to 3 percent from the remaining 20 percent for a valid sample. This procedure involved assigning random numbers from *A Million Random Digits* by the Rand Corporation to each item in a box (a large box filled to capacity holds 2,200 documents). Then documents were removed beginning with a randomly selected number (McKay 1978). Suffice it to say that by the time the documents were numbered and removed, the entire box could have been processed. Other variations were proposed over the years. How many archivists actually applied these scientific techniques is unknown. There are reports of archivists consciously selecting “fat files” based on certain dimensions or retaining every tenth folder, but those approaches would not be considered true sampling.

Even retaining every tenth item requires a lot of time and discipline. Invariably, there will be something that catches the eye and falls outside of the numbering system. Before one knows it, the “keep this” pile outnumbers the “toss this” pile. The National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) archivists may be the biggest implementers of sampling and have the most experience. They seem to apply it sparingly, however, because it is so labor-intensive.

Partly as an experiment, partly in appeasement, the archivists at the Arizona Historical Foundation responded to Sean Kelly’s repeated pleas to retain constituent correspondence. This series may also be another notable exception in the Goldwater papers: it was largely organized by topic. Many of the congressional officeholders in the generations after Goldwater organized these files by date or alphabetically by sender. The archivists who worked on the Goldwater papers did not weed. They saved it all. They even tried to describe constituent service in ways that might have meaning for political scientists. Here are excerpts from the two major subseries.

Projects and Programs generally capture local and regional grants, awards, proposals; technical and annual reports, court claims and legal briefs; federal, state, county, and city staff and

agency initiatives; staff special projects; and programs of special interest to Senator Goldwater. This section is also a rich source of local history. It is a rich source of gray literature—unpublished, difficult to locate materials such as technical reports, pre-prints, fact sheets, patents, working papers, meeting minutes, business documents, newsletters, bulletins, symposia, standards, white papers, proceedings and unpublished works. As such, it has high research value.

Issue Mail is organized by topic and can be considered “current events and issues at a glance,” i.e., Watergate, Panama Canal, or Taiwan Treaty. This sub-series is organized by topic primarily established by Goldwater’s office staff and often noted in the upper right hand corner of Goldwater’s response letter. These terms were incorporated in folder titles wherever possible. Like-topics were combined within congressional sessions when feasible. Bulk determined what could be consolidated and what could stand alone. Large runs of correspondence were left under their original designations. Note that these descriptive titles shifted over time and are not uniform, i.e. Immigration, Border Patrol, Illegal Aliens, Farm Labor, Mexican Nationals. Unless noted, all issue mail has been retained. Where possible all enclosures have been retained. If a form letter was attached to orphaned documents, it was considered Issue Mail. Note that form letters have been aggregated within the **Series: V. Administrative Series**. Although Goldwater’s positions are represented in form letters, many of the responses found here deviate from a set script and often reflect a personal quality.

Surprisingly, this series has been used in depth from the moment it was made available in the Goldwater papers. Subjects retrieved include urban growth, school funding, energy, senior citizens, pollution/environment, historic preservation, immigration, equal rights, the Vietnam War, Watergate, and water resources. Ironically, the biggest users of the constituent service series thus far have been historians.

The Case for Case Files

Case files testify to those people who have been lost in the system, fallen through the cracks, or left to fend for themselves: the poor, the incarcerated, the sick, the illiterate, the mentally ill, the homeless, the veterans, the elderly, the addicted, the single mothers, the abandoned children, the disabled, the refugees, the jobless, and the alienated from society. They are all here and they beg to be studied. This is evidence of what happens when the system fails, when safety nets disappear, when the funding stops, or when programs do not work. It also documents the impact of new policies such as immigration and welfare reform.

Many case files never reach a repository because they are considered sensitive and are destroyed once the case is closed. The files that do reach a repository are often destroyed for the same reason. The Goldwater case files are an exception likely because they were overlooked or were not recognized as case files when they arrived. These records are voluminous, largely intact, and date from 1969 to 1986. They contain every kind of personal information imaginable: social security numbers, health records, social service files, mental health files, prison records, military records, financial records, immigration records, and personnel files. They were discovered adjacent to the rows of constituent mail. A description from the scope and content note follows.

Numerous case files (60 linear feet) from the 91st–99th Congress were discovered among this material. Although not listed here, individual case files have been retained for research. They are organized according to the federal agency or department to which the cases were referred. These files are considered sensitive. Please contact the archivist for permissions and access.

The archivists working on the Goldwater papers took a deep breath and did not destroy them. Here is why.

If “sensitive” (defined here as personal information) were an objective criterion to destroy or redact records, then medical research would come to a screeching halt. Historically, access has been granted to sensitive

materials under certain conditions for the purposes of scholarly research. On that basis and within those access parameters, these case files were retained. Researchers sign a special permissions form requiring them to observe confidentiality and ensure that no personal data will be reported or identified in any publication. For other exceptions to the rule, Senator Edmund Muskie's case files have been retained at Bates College and Senator Masayuki Matsunaga's case files are included in his collection at the University of Hawaii. Matsunaga's case files are described as follows:

Case Files—4 record center boxes, 2 document cases

This series is restricted for use except by permission of the Archives staff. The files include cases handled by the Matsunaga office relating to constituents' personal problems chiefly concerning employment, military service, and veterans' and Social Security benefits.

For all the members of the American Political Science Association (APSA) New Political Science section, hear our plea. This material is ready-made for you. Congressional case files will fast-forward your mission statement goal of making "the study of politics relevant to the struggle for a better world." See the list of Goldwater case files in the appendices.

The Container List

The final section of the finding aid is the container list, which represents the bulk of the document. This section lists the contents of a collection at the box and folder levels. Note that the finding aids give no indication of the size of each folder. It could contain one to more than one hundred documents. The folder title represents the subject matter of the documents within. Dates on the folder reflect the date range of those documents. Items without dates are usually listed as "undated" or no date (n.d.)

Descriptive detail within a container list varies from institution to institution. This reflects internal policies and guidelines and represents a

fine balance between what researchers need and want (more description) compared to the resources that are available (never enough). The more description, the easier and faster the navigation. Time is the rate-limiting factor. The archivist's goal is to get the researcher "close enough" without searching through dozens of boxes. This increases researcher efficiency while minimizing wear and tear on the documents.

If a finding aid is in Portable Document Format (PDF) format, use the CTRL-F or Command-F function and enter keywords to locate a person, place, topic, date, or type of material, such as speeches. If the finding aid is in Encoded Archival Description (EAD), the entire document can be searched from the first-page menu. Table 3 is a sample of the container list from the 1964 presidential campaign series in the Goldwater papers. Even this small slice has many things to count.

Table 3. Container list from the 1964 presidential campaign series in the Goldwater papers.

Box	Folder	Title	Dates
119	8	General, Draft Goldwater (Chicago meeting)	1962–1963
	9	General, Draft Goldwater (Paul Fannin correspondence, memos)	1963
	10	General, Draft Goldwater (progress reports)	1963
	11	General, Elections and Primaries	1962
	12	General, Election Statistics	1964–1965
	13	General, Finance Committee (memos, correspondence)	1960–1962
	14	General, Finance Committee (memos, correspondence)	1963–1964
	15	General, Finance Committee—California Supporters	1964–1965

Search Strategies

If collections are processed, catalogued, and online, Google will likely capture them, but they may not be obvious. Some links will direct the searcher to a PDF, others to a web page, and still others to a database. More university and research library catalogs now incorporate direct searches for archival material. University and college libraries also have special collections departments with their own web pages that may list holdings separate from the library catalog. Most nonacademic repositories have robust websites that allow for searching collections.

Since the mid-1990s, great strides have been made by the archival community to provide access to finding aids online. These can be displayed as the ubiquitous PDF files or converted into EAD. The latter is considered the gold standard for discovering archival collections on the Internet. This special tagging software allows for searching all or sections of the finding aid. Until recently, only the larger institutions or a consortium of repositories could leverage the funding to support specially trained staff to convert Word documents into EAD and the technical infrastructure that is required to upload, display, and maintain Internet content.

The appendices will list many archival sources, but currently there is no reliable “ready reference” for locating specific collections or unprocessed collections or for finding out the status of someone’s papers (will they be available, and if so, when and where?). What follows pales in comparison to the multiple databases political scientists use for data mining and large-scale computations. Archivists’ needs are relatively simple. They are the consumers of their own services. They provide references for colleagues, who provide references in return. When archivists need something, they usually need it quickly, so they make the most with what is at hand.

Though librarians may wince when they hear this, we go to Google first. With more and more finding aids coming online, there is a good chance of capturing what one wants. The advanced search option connects to several specialized areas. One of these is the U.S. government. This is the best portal to all things federal. Because congressmen are public figures, the

odds favor hits that will lead somewhere—even if the individual is retired or deceased. We give Google maybe five minutes. If nothing turns up, we cut our losses and move right on to WorldCat.

WorldCat is touted as the “world’s largest library catalog,” with access to 1.4 billion items in ten thousand libraries around the world. This is humanities heaven. The version we use is the database designed for academic libraries, not the online subscription for the general public. Every major library in the United States subscribes to WorldCat. We use it to search for newspapers, out-of-print and rare books, and archival collections. We use it to verify citations, review sections of the catalog record to see how the experts entered data, and see how our manuscripts are retrieved in a search. The latter is no small thing because of the strict requirements for original cataloguing—a universe unto itself. WorldCat has added two intriguing indexes, cleverly called *PapersFirst* and *ProceedingsFirst*. They search papers (in all disciplines) from conferences, symposiums, and expositions worldwide—more gray literature that can no longer hide. On that topic, because it holds a certain fascination, the databases listed on the APSA site for proceedings, presentations, unpublished material, and works in progress would appear to leave no stone unturned. Political Research Online is very impressive and illuminating for the ratio of quantitative to qualitative studies in the discipline. No worries; archives can easily accommodate both.

The Social Security Death Index contains more than 80 million records. It is a good source for verifying birth and death dates and where a person died; depending on the record, a Google map may come up showing where a person is buried. Would a political scientist need this? Yes, maybe, if he or she were searching for people to interview or to verify if someone of interest was deceased. We have used it as a kind of echo-location for finding descendents and heirs, tracing the whereabouts of family members connected to collections, addressing copyright issues, and helping researchers locate these individuals. If we know where

someone died or is buried, we then go to the local telephone directories to match names and ages. Then we start calling, often with success.

The Society of American Archivists (SAA) staff field a wide variety of inquiries and make numerous referrals to experts in the field. They also work with archivists nationwide from every major repository, which gives them a unique perspective of the profession. SAA has thirteen sections representing the larger types of archives and major archival topics. There are thirty roundtables, which are smaller, specialized interest groups. Their members are well connected and know how to find most things in their specialties. Each has a chair and steering committee that can speak for the group. Each section and roundtable has a listserv, and one does not need to be a member to join. The Congressional Papers Roundtable would be the perfect place to post a query about the status of a certain congressional collection.

A PARTING GIFT

If we have not yet made our case that congressional collections are a superior match for the research needs of political scientists, then let us conclude with a list of what one would be missing by staying away from primary sources. This also applies to certain organized sections of APSA. Based on a quick review of the mission descriptions, the members of the politics and religion, legislative studies, political organizations and parties, qualitative and multimethod research, political communication, politics and history, political science education, psychology and politics, new political science, and public policy sections would appear to be candidates inclined to use archives. Ten possibilities out of forty-one sections is better than might be expected.

What follows are descriptions of types of archival collections beyond the congressional. They deserve undivided attention. Although they are not generally thought of as political papers, these collections are unexpectedly rich in political content. Usually they are fully processed and cata-

logged, and the finding aids can be found online. Compared to the congressional collections, these collections are well organized, fairly predictable, and therefore easier to use. They have one thing in common: data.

Personal papers (general manuscript collections). Think of names, people behind the scenes, peripheral players that in aggregate may reveal important patterns and insights. Campaign managers, state party chairmen, convention delegates, community organizers, entrepreneurs, philanthropists, business leaders, grassroots activists, writers, journalists (especially those who covered the politics/government beat), party organizers, lobbyists, ambassadors, losing candidates, retired faculty, lawyers, judges, prominent political scientists.

Local and state government. Governors' and state legislators' papers; state agencies; judicial papers; attorney general records; cities and towns submitting data for grants, funding infrastructure, or fighting regulations. SAA has a government records section.

Organizations. Think professional, nonprofit, and interest groups. Chambers of Commerce, banks, industry and professional associations, recall and referendum groups, universities, homeowners' associations, causes/advocacy/ethnic groups, neighborhood watches, political parties, environmental groups, unions. SAA has a labor archives roundtable and a college and university archives section.

Church archives. Think sermons, newsletters, press releases, rallies, petitions, radio and television programs, social-community-political initiatives. Requests for how to find these and how to get in were frequent enough that we generated a list of church archives in the Phoenix metropolitan area. With prior arrangements, they generally allow researchers in. Their national headquarters often will do the same. The SAA has an archivists of religious collections section.

Businesses. Think influential, locally owned, multigenerational, ethnic or local icons (cannot do business without politics). Public relations and marketing firms, pollsters, car dealerships, trucking,

grocery stores, health care industry, restaurants, construction, lobby firms, paving, beverage distributors, refineries, mines, utility companies, importers/exporters, newspaper publishers. SAA has a business archives section and a science, technology, and health care roundtable.

Military. Think retired brass, all service branches, plus academy records. West Point, Annapolis, and the Air Force Academy are well connected to the Armed Services Committee, and they know how to work members on the Hill.

This is but a taste. The possibilities are endless and are limited only by one's imagination. We will spread the word about how much fun political scientists are to work with. (Endorsements do not get better than that!) So, what is standing in the way? Get out there and plan a visit to the nearest archives.

ENDNOTES

1. This quote speaks volumes because it comes from faculty, not undergraduates. It clearly illustrates the gulf between the minority of political scientists who use archival materials and the majority of those who do not. When a discipline limits its research to one or two genres (i.e., government documents or newspapers), it lends credibility to the Kelly-Frisch arguments that the data have become stale.
2. Backlogs are a blight. Greene and Meissner's landmark paper in 2005 was a call to arms for archivists to rethink the way they processed large contemporary collections because backlogs were "hurting the profession." Their statistics demonstrate the depth and breadth of a problem that was sixty years in the making. In one survey, more than 51 percent of repositories reported that the collections that were processed in the previous year were done in direct response to donor dissatisfaction. Their surgical dissection of the issues and the steps to confront them were nothing short of revolutionary. The shift from "serving the needs of collections" to serving the needs of users was dramatic. Federal grants became available to institutions that were willing to innovate and apply MPLP to a wide variety of collections. Then Greene took things a step further and provided a model for deaccessioning unprocessed collections on a grand scale. If the collection did not fit the mission or was outside of the collecting scope, he transferred it to a repository that could use and support it. This was a chance to reunite split collections, swap unprocessed collections for collections that were a better fit, and look for ways that decreased competition and got materials into the hands of users more quickly. Almost overnight, repositories began listing unprocessed collections and making them available to researchers. Deaccessioning, though it is not done casually, is now commonplace. Certain federal processing grants require proof that deaccessioning is a part of a repository's management plan. Transparency is the order of the day. A number of assumptions have been tested and have fallen by the wayside. There is no turning back.
3. Despite the archival definition, the notion of research value tied to use is not fully embraced within the archives profession. This contributes to a dearth of archival metrics in the literature. Many repositories count patrons, items pulled, and copies made, but few seem to record what manuscripts were used. Unofficially, it would appear that Mo Udall's

collection is requested on average twelve times a year, Carl Hayden's and John Rhodes's are pulled five to seven times annually, Dennis DeConcini's and Paul Fannin's are requested on average four times a year, and Barry Goldwater's papers are pulled eighteen to twenty times a year. Depending on the repository, any of these numbers could demonstrate high use. I posted this query to the Archivists listserv to see if use had been codified since Aronsson's article: "If (actual and potential) use is a measure of research value, how would you measure low, moderate or high use for your processed manuscripts?" The following responses are revealing: "Our librarian colleagues deem use (check-out) to be an important measure of a book's worth; no checkouts means it is a book worthy of discarding as no one is using it. In archives, however, this is a major error...I think your premise is wrong that we can assign low, moderate, high values to archival collection." And this: "Use of our legislative collections is low and has stayed within a fairly stable range for some years. Though we hope use will increase substantially with our upcoming move to a new facility in the heart of our campus, we will not be affected if it does not. Many of our collections are currently closed to research and some that I collected over ten years ago will not open until long after I've retired. We are building a base of research collections for future generations of scholars. The need for metrics has never been greater. There are interest groups researching and actively implementing this. Archives and special collections are among the most misunderstood units in library systems—closed, mysterious...special. The stuff defies routine cataloging, reading rooms are not highly trafficked (by design), and some items require the use of gloves (oh my). Private and rarified compared to the pedestrian stacks. Metrics are the lingua franca of libraries. When you cannot translate your work or the worth of your collections into numbers, you lose."

4. In 2003, Ellen Proxmire held a press conference because she wanted to keep her husband's legacy alive after his years of seclusion. (He was in a nursing home and suffering from Alzheimer's disease.) She wanted people to know that he was still alive. Senator William Proxmire had donated his papers (360 linear feet) thirteen years earlier, but they had remained unprocessed at the Wisconsin Historical Society. During the press conference, Proxmire described it as a "big, big problem" because the papers were "just sitting there in boxes" unused. Their creator had become increasingly unknown to the very constituency he had served. Gaylord Nelson, a former Wisconsin governor and later a U.S. senator,

had given the society seven hundred banker boxes of his papers years earlier. Like Proxmire's papers, they remained unprocessed. In an interview, the director of the Wisconsin Historical Society stated that "this was no crisis" and that these situations were not unusual in archives, especially during budget cuts. Since then, it appears that both collections have been processed. The scope and content note in Proxmire's finding aid is a cautionary tale and illustrates every conceivable problem with office records management, serial deposits, restrictions, and donor expectations. It is rare for an archivist to describe a collection as "disappointing" in a scope and content note, but in the finding aid for Proxmire's papers, this is clearly stated and the reasons why are listed. Proxmire and Goldwater were contemporaries and frequent sparring partners—both quick-witted and fearless. In many ways, they were well matched save for their political ideologies. Scholars have been denied the chance to fully analyze, contrast, and compare the two. This is a real loss, and scholars are all the poorer for it.

5. The Goldwater collection began with 1,200 boxes (not counting artifacts and memorabilia). Here are the numbers (bulk decreased by 30 percent) after the processing was done:

1180 linear feet; 970 boxes; 1.14 million documents

8,000 unmounted photographs; 1,500 negatives; 5,000 slides; 110 photo albums

107 news clipping scrapbooks; 480 reels of microfilm

1,028 film reels, cassettes, and tapes

896 pages (finding aid)

125+ years (1880s–2008) of Arizona and U.S. history

6. More than half of the reference requests for Goldwater's papers come from out-of-state researchers. Typically, they are PhD candidates, faculty seeking tenure, or postdoctorates and fellows. Planning the first visit averages four e-mail exchanges before settling on the specific boxes/folders to pull and identifying relevant materials in other collections. Sometimes e-mail fails altogether and one party calls the other. This is not time wasted. Approximately thirty-five to forty boxes are pulled for the first visit, which lasts three to five days. These scholars tend to spend eight-

plus hours each day in the reading room. On average, historians leave our repository with more than five hundred copies and political scientists fewer than three hundred copies. What follows is a typical e-mail query and response. This is between a well-traveled David Parker asking about the Harrison Schmitt papers at the University of New Mexico (UNM) and an enthusiastic Rose Diaz, the director of the UNM Political Archives. Note the level of detail in both communications. Used with their permission.

Dear Ms. Diaz:

At the moment, I'm working on a book project which focuses on Senate incumbents who lose re-election, and I'm interested in examining Harrison Schmitt's 1982 campaign against Jeff Bingaman. Before visiting a collection, I like to get a sense for the scope of materials available to researchers.

Given my topic, I'm particularly interested in items related to the 1982 re-election campaign. These would include correspondence concerning the campaign, press releases from the campaign, strategy memos, polls, campaign advertisements (video, radio, newspaper, etc), campaign briefing books, campaign brochures, and the like.

I'm also interested in items related to the Senator's travel back to New Mexico and how he communicated with constituents. Copies of the Senator's travel schedules, for example, would be ideal. I'd also be interested in looking at some items from the 1976 race, in particular polling data for comparison with polls from 1982.

Would you be able to give me some sense of whether the collections contain items of this nature, and approximately how many boxes of the collection might be related to the items of interest?

Thanks very much for your time and assistance in this matter.

I look forward to the possibility of a visit in the near future.

David C. W. Parker,

Assistant Professor,

Department of Political Science

RESPONSE:

Dear Dr. Parker:

I was happy to receive your message regarding research in the Harrison Schmitt papers. At present this collection has only been preliminarily inventoried and is not generally open to the public. However, since some of the materials you would be interested in seeing can be readily identified in the preliminary inventory, I have received permission from our Director to allow you access to such materials during your visit to NM.

At present, Charlotte Walters (a staff member) has worked with the collection and is best equipped to address the availability of materials contained within your reference questions. I will forward your request to her and she will be in touch with you very quickly. She is also able to provide you with electronic copies of the preliminary inventory from which to select research materials for viewing. While we are allowing access to the unprocessed collection, we are not able to provide extensive reference services prior to your visit since, most often, such preliminary inventories cover very large sections of the collection. We can provide you only the limited information currently available to us.

We are thrilled that this collection is on your list to research and look forward to meeting you in the near future. Also, we are not located on campus as the Congressional collections are far too big to work with in library prime real estate, so you will have to come to the processing site located just a mile from campus (really easy parking, too!). Charlotte can fill you in on local hotels and our location when you have a better idea about your trip.

Sincerely,

Rose Diaz, PhD,

Research Historian,

UNM/CSWR/Political Archives

7. The experience with Senator DeConcini and his deed of gift left a lasting impression. His restrictions perhaps had outlived their usefulness because Frisch and Kelly were precisely the kind of scholars he hoped would use

his papers. Since then, we have approached other donors with onerous deed-of-gift restrictions unrelated to federal code. We recently made the case for a collection with high research value (political but not congressional) that had significantly deteriorated over time. We were not only successful in having the fifty-year restrictions lifted but also persuaded the donor to allow us to transfer it to a repository that was more geographically appropriate.

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PART II

POLITICAL SCIENCE
IN THE ARCHIVES

CHAPTER 4

WHY ARCHIVES?

David C. W. Parker

When I decided to go to graduate school, I knew I wanted to study the representative process—specifically, campaigns. How do members of Congress navigate their relationships with constituents to win reelection? How do constituents view their members of Congress and their representative activities? I worked on a mayoral, presidential, and two Senate campaigns in 1996 and saw public servants at multiple levels of government make the case that they understood their constituents, had done good things for them, and deserved to be elected. Campaigns, to my way of thinking, matter—they are the heart and soul of the U.S. political system. They legitimate a political system that delegates political power rather than allowing the political masses to exercise it directly in the policy-making process.

Imagine my surprise when I found out that much of political science conventional wisdom dismissed the role of campaigns. Forecasting

models demonstrated that by using approval ratings and economic growth, election outcomes could be accurately forecast months in advance. Partisanship, indeed, seemed to predict most elections. All of the money, time, and effort members of Congress put into connecting to voters and constituents—according to this literature—was a waste of time, energy, and effort. To quote Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, campaigns were full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.

This did not sit well with me, particularly with the increasing turn to rational choice models of human behavior in the social sciences. Political actors are rational actors—they minimize their costs and maximize their benefits. If anyone could be depicted accurately as rational, officeholders had to be it. So why would officeholders, who want to maximize their resources, expend all this time, money, and effort in a fruitless endeavor? Something did not make sense, and I was bound to figure out what it was.

I believed, very simply, that the actions of officeholders—particularly members of Congress—mattered to constituents. Members *do* build relationships with the people they represent, and those relationships help them get reelected. Campaigns remind voters about those connections, and I knew that with sustained effort and attention, the effects of campaigns on voters could be demonstrated plainly. Ultimately, some incumbents survive bad economies and partisan wave elections and others do not. What explains this? I was convinced that the campaign, and more specifically, the activities that members engaged in and the connections they established with their constituents as communicated during campaigns, mattered. Campaigns matter because representation matters.

The problem is, how does one observe those relationships with constituents? Much of the existing political science data did this poorly. Although the American National Election Studies (ANES) asks questions concerning media exposure, attention to politics, and the recall of political advertisements, the studies do not allow for a sustained study of congressional campaigns. The ANES 1988–1992 Pooled Senate Study allows for the in-depth study of Senate campaigns; unfortunately, the 1988, 1990,

and 1992 election years saw few Senate incumbents actually lose reelection, and the study is more than twenty years old at this writing. Add to that the fact that even the ANES Pooled Senate Study—as rich as it is—interviewed respondents after the conclusion of the campaign, not during the campaign. It is hard to understand the dynamics of an ongoing campaign based on this design.

My undergraduate training was mostly as a historian. The use of primary source documents was not a mystery to me. Archival materials, however, were. My work on the Truman administration's relations with Great Britain relied primarily on State Department documents gathered in the "Foreign Relations of the United States" series. These are bound, typed documents, all located in one neat, tidy place. My first experience with archives occurred when I was in graduate school. I was trying to move conceptually from David Mayhew's measure of state party institutionalization (traditional party organization, or TPO) to a measurement of party involvement in the campaigns of individual senators in the mid-twentieth century. The idea was simple: if I could show that political parties in so-called "strong party states" involved themselves more in the daily operation of Senate campaigns compared to weaker party states, I could demonstrate that the standard story of party decline and the rise of candidate-centered campaigns was more nuanced and complicated. To develop the correct measure, it seemed sensible to track how parties were involved in the strategic decision making of Senate campaigns, what their role in fund-raising was, and whether party issues were central in the campaign itself. To do this, I turned to archival materials: the papers and oral histories of U.S. senators who first ran for the Senate during the so-called decline of party-centered campaigns between 1940 and 1960.

The end result was an incredible experience, both in terms of research and writing. I received a small grant and traveled to archives in Kentucky, Idaho, Illinois, and Tennessee. Idaho and Tennessee were considered weak party states, whereas Kentucky and Illinois were seen as strong party states. Sure enough, the archival record made plain that the involvement

of parties in the day-to-day operation of U.S. Senate campaigns varied based upon the party's overall organizational strength in the state. Future U.S. senators Estes Kefauver and Frank Church essentially ran their own campaigns, independent of the established party organization and bosses, during their campaigns in 1948 and 1956, respectively. Senators Everett Dirksen and John Sherman Cooper, however, had campaigns that were tightly integrated with statewide party efforts. The evidence in the archives varied tremendously, too. In Senator Dirksen's papers, I found campaign letterhead that listed all of the statewide Republican candidates for office together and a letter chiding the Dirksen campaign for not clearing its meetings in Chicago with the local party organization folks. In Senator Church's papers, there is a memo advising speakers stumping the state to avoid national party issues and focus instead on the personal failings and record of Church's opponent, incumbent senator Herman Welker.

The archives provided a rich opportunity for me, the political scientist, to develop a new measure of a theoretical concept while providing a clearer picture of how Senate campaigns operated in the mid-twentieth century. The process was messy and dirty—much like politics itself. But the end result was a much richer, more detailed, and more accurate account of campaigning—one that was very different from what would have emerged if I had relied exclusively on the conventional wisdom that the political science literature had peddled to graduate students and scholars over the past forty years. The party-centered campaign had not died in the mid-twentieth century but was thriving in those places where parties had always been, and continue to be, strong organizationally and culturally.

After my experience working with archival materials, I was, quite simply, hooked. My current project on senators who lose reelection returns to the initial question about representation that drove me to graduate school in the first place: How do representatives build relationships with constituents? Consider the following narrative. In 1982, freshman senator Harrison "Jack" Schmitt lost reelection in an expensive campaign. Two weeks before Election Day, a political writer for the *Albuquerque Journal*

told a reporter from *The New York Times* that Schmitt was in trouble because of disenchantment with Ronald Reagan and economic problems in the state (Roberts 1982, B12). This, of course, represented the standard political science line: midterm elections are a referendum on the sitting president, and congressional incumbents bear the brunt of voter displeasure. Quite simply put, Schmitt was in trouble because he was a stalwart Reaganite in a generally Democratic state and the economy was bad. Of course he would lose.

But there is an alternate and potentially more compelling narrative to be teased out of the archival record. Consider first that although New Mexico was—and still is—a Democratic-leaning state, Republican senator Pete Domenici successfully represented the state for more than thirty years, serving from 1973 through 2008. Why did voters not punish Domenici in 1978 when he ran for his first reelection and congressional incumbents in both parties were thrown out of office? Schmitt's loss was about more than Reagan and New Mexico's economy alone. It is, quite simply, a story of an incomplete representational connection with his constituents.

Schmitt, on the surface, did all the “right” things one expects of a freshman senator. He traveled back home frequently. He drove around the state in a red, beat-up Ford pickup truck. He met with constituents around the state. He had a compelling biography: a bright kid from a small town earned a Harvard PhD and was selected for NASA's Apollo program because of his geological expertise. Schmitt was the last astronaut to walk on the moon. Quite simply put, he was a hero and an icon in New Mexico. He should have won.

But what he did not do—and what Domenici did well—was forge a strong, positive connection with those constituents. In September of 1982, two months before Schmitt lost, the evidence of this weak constituent relationship abounds in survey data commissioned by the Schmitt campaign. When they were asked why they were not voting for Schmitt, only 13 percent of the respondents volunteered that it was because Schmitt was a Republican. Another 7 percent mentioned the economy, and 2 percent

mentioned Schmitt's conservative ideology. Eleven percent indicated that Schmitt had done a poor job and had not represented the state well, another 11 percent indicated that he was ineffective, and another 11 percent noted that he was not terribly concerned about people.¹ Nearly 45 percent of the responses had little to do with the macro-political environment that political scientists say explains voting behavior in congressional races. In a campaign that was decided by less than eight percentage points, it is entirely plausible to suggest that Senator Schmitt lost not because of Ronald Reagan and the economy but because he was not seen as an effective, dedicated, and compassionate representative of New Mexicans. And Schmitt's papers—located at the Center for Southwest Research on the campus of the University of New Mexico—helped greatly in telling the richer, more nuanced, and better story.

In the chapters that follow, scholars from a variety of subfields of American politics illustrate their experiences working with archival documents. They demonstrate from their personal experience how archival research has improved the quality of their research and improved the depth of their understanding of a variety of research questions. The chapters also provide insight into the different kinds of political papers collections that are available to researchers and the considerations that are unique to each kind of collection. Feel free to move directly to a chapter that addresses a particular kind of collection, but take some time to browse the other chapters for clues about how other kinds of collections might improve research. One of the keys of good archival research is to remain aware of the serendipitous opportunities that may present themselves along the road.

ENDNOTES

1. Tarrance and Associates, September 1982, "A Survey of Voter Attitudes in the State of New Mexico," box 604, Harrison "Jack" Schmitt Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

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CHAPTER 5

IF THIS IS TUESDAY, IT MUST BE ALBUQUERQUE

USING ARCHIVES TO RESEARCH CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGNS

David C. W. Parker

Many of the chapters in this volume address how congressional archives can help illuminate the institution of Congress: how party leadership operates, which members receive their desired committee assignments, and the process of presidential and congressional bargaining.¹ By and large, each chapter illustrates an important methodological point: imprecise or improper measurement of concepts can influence one's substantive findings. The use of archives yields new measurements of theoretical concepts, and oftentimes these new measures provide better conceptual fits than do more readily accessible data such as roll call votes, campaign finance dollars, or election results.

My research uses congressional archives not only to provide new measures of well-established theoretical concepts but to lift the veil off

of what two scholars call the black box of congressional politics: the campaign (Coleman and Manna 2000). Much of what is known about congressional campaigns is observed from the outside—in the brochures that are produced, the campaign advertisements that are aired, the polls that are taken by media organizations, and the articles that are written in newspapers. Less is known, however, about the campaign inner-workings that allocate particular resources and the ways in which these decisions may (or may not) influence election outcomes. More broadly, if one is to better explain the process of representation, it is absolutely critical to understand how members of Congress communicate with their constituents and how they explain their Washington activities to the people back home. This is a task well-suited to the materials that are available in congressional archives.

I have used the archival collections of senatorial papers and their election challengers at fifteen different locations, from Athens, Georgia, to Fairbanks, Alaska—as well as many places in between. My research has focused on Senate campaigns in particular and has addressed two questions: What is the relationship between political parties and congressional campaigns, and why do incumbent senators lose reelection? In this chapter, I demonstrate how work in congressional archives can complement and perhaps even improve upon the method of participant observation that is strongly advocated by Richard Fenno. Second, I show how the materials that are commonly available in the congressional collections yield new empirical measures for political scientists, which aid in both the process of testing old theories and the construction of new ones. Finally, I provide tips for avoiding some of the common pitfalls the aspiring archival researcher faces when choosing to engage in this intense, yet rewarding, method of inquiry.

THE METHOD OF PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION VERSUS POST-PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Richard Fenno (1978) revolutionized the study of Congress when he charged political scientists to get out of Washington and into the district to better understand the process of representation. Although Fenno's work has been widely cited and appreciated by the discipline, few political scientists have taken up Fenno's gauntlet more than two decades after the publication of *Home Style*. As Fenno plainly admitted, the work of participant observation is mentally exhausting and difficult to accomplish in the academic world of "publish or perish" (Fenno 1978, 219–296; Fenno 2007, 76–78). It is also hard to fund.² Nevertheless, Fenno's work has provided congressional scholars with innumerable insights into how members think about the puzzle of representation. Most notably, Fenno (1978) offered the concentric circles of constituency and explicated the representational styles members communicate to their constituents: "one of us," policy expert, and constituent servant. Subsequent empirical work confirms the use of these different types of representational styles in how members communicate with their constituents in press releases, in speeches on the Senate floor, and in the allocation of official resources such as the frank, travel, and office expenditures (Parker and Goodman 2009; Hill and Hurley 2002; Goodman and Parker 2010; Yiannakis 1982; Parker and Goodman n.d.). Unfortunately, few scholars have attempted the in-depth case study approach that was employed by Fenno—especially on such a grand scale (but see Frisch and Kelly 2006, 2008).³ Those scholars who are the most disposed energetically to undertake such work—the young, untenured assistant professors—are also the ones who have the least incentive to invest so much time and effort in thick, descriptive analysis. By the time their work in the field was completed, they would find themselves denied tenure for the sheer lack of publications!

Although Fenno's work has uncovered a number of important theoretical and empirical insights, the approach clearly has limitations.⁴ Fenno's visits were episodic and provided him with only a small slice of the district

representational experience. And, although he was a keen observer of politics and human nature, Fenno could not witness many of the important events during district travels on the campaign trail. As much as Fenno strove to blend in as a part of the team, he was still an outsider, prone to the possibility of self-censoring by politicians and their staffs. Participant observers will not see certain meetings, and they are not privy to all of the information that campaigns have when they are making strategic decisions about resources and campaign efforts.

Studying the campaign after the fact—sometimes long after the fact—provides the researcher with certain advantages over the method of direct participant observation. First, though censorship may still be a problem (the archival record may have been sanitized in the process of handing over records to archivists by staffers eager to protect their boss from the scrutiny of history), the researcher plumbing archives can have access to memoranda of conversations written by campaign staffers or the candidate during the actual campaign—about events the participant observer may not have had the opportunity to witness. These memoranda are often quite blunt and frank in their assessments. For example, a memo written by none other than New Mexico senator Pete Domenici to Harrison “Jack” Schmitt in 1976 in no uncertain terms describes the core of Schmitt’s inability to connect with voters during his campaign against incumbent Joseph Montoya:

Specifically, I believe that you could spend a very useful three hours with the book, “Ingratiation,” (available from the UNM [University of New Mexico] library) to learn a little about making people like you when they meet you. Being bright, competent, well-intentioned, and earnest is simply not enough. You must be human. You must drink or swear or sweat or make mistakes. Perfection remains a very difficult thing for most of us to identify with.⁵

It appears these problems persisted during Schmitt’s career in the Senate, and his inability to foster a “one-of-us” connection with his constituents

may have been in part responsible for his defeat in 1982 at the hands of New Mexico attorney general Jeff Bingaman.

Second, studying the campaign after the fact allows the passions of the moment to cool and gives way to perhaps a more objective assessment of events by those who were involved. Although one must recognize that memories erode with the passage of time, candidates and politicians who are retired speak more frankly, openly, and willingly about campaign events that are long past. The archival record provides the materials to well-inform these interviews with key campaign participants.

Third, the method of participant observation often requires focusing on a few critical actors. In Fenno's case, he was interested particularly in the candidate and his daily activities. But of equal importance in understanding the campaign are the staffers running the day-to-day operation and making decisions on the behalf of the candidate. These decisions can have important repercussions for the campaign's outcome and are more difficult to observe. Fenno, in fact, augmented his participant observations with subsequent interviews. But, in examining campaign strategy memos, campaign advertising scripts (including the many drafts), and candidate correspondence, one can uncover political players who may never have visited campaign headquarters or the campaign trail.⁶ Yet, these are the very people who may have had a substantial influence on the actual conduct of the campaign and its strategic focus. This often includes the candidate's campaign consultants and pollsters, as well as trusted Washington aides offering advice from afar. The manner in which a member of Congress campaigns and presents him- or herself at home is, in part, a reflection of this advice from the very intimates lying at the core of Fenno's concentric circles of constituencies. These may also be the same people who are the hardest to observe by dipping in and out of the campaign.

None of this is meant to suggest that the method of participant observation is not useful, but merely to point out the differences between it and the method of post-participant observation. I use the term *post-*

participant observation specifically because observing events recorded in archives precludes direct participation, whereas the participant observer may watch an event contemporaneous with its occurrence and chose whether to engage. The main advantage of post-participant observation is a rare glimpse of the second face of power that researchers frequently discuss (Bachrach and Baratz 1962). The post-participant observer can sometimes see the path that was not taken by campaigns by paying close attention to the archival record: for example, the negative campaign ad that was drafted, scripted, and shot by the consultant but not aired because of objections by the candidate; the candidate explicitly asking national speakers to avoid particular issues that might cause the candidate problems (as Frank Church did in a memo he wrote during the 1956 campaign against incumbent Idaho senator Herman Welker); or what the campaign knew but would not acknowledge publicly (that New Mexico senator Harrison “Jack” Schmitt had very few credit-claiming opportunities to tout after three years in office).⁷ Post-participant observation allows the researcher to look into the hidden and forgotten corners of the campaign that are not plainly visible to the participant who is observing for a day or a long weekend. And this is what makes archival work so rewarding and fun for the researcher.

NEW ANSWERS TO OLD QUESTIONS AND NEW QUESTIONS

The method of archival research provides insights into campaigns that the method of participant observation may not. Just as important, however, is the ability of the researcher engaged in post-participant observation to engage in theory building, theory testing, and the refinement of conceptual measures. Archival research generates new data with which to test theories, and through the better measurement of critical concepts, it can demonstrate why some widely used measures may yield erroneous conclusions about campaigning and the behavior of politicians. After spending nearly seven years engaged in archival research on congressional campaigns, I have reaffirmed some of political science’s conventional

wisdom with new data. I have also made some new discoveries which question some of that wisdom at the very least. At best, these discoveries may suggest new avenues of research. I have also used the insights gleaned from archival work to build a new theory of congressional campaigns. In no particular order, here are some of the things I have learned from digging around in congressional archives.

IDEOLOGY MEASURES UNDERESTIMATE THE IMPORTANCE OF ISSUE SALIENCE

The use of DW-NOMINATE as a measure of a member's ideology has become ubiquitous in congressional studies (Poole and Rosenthal 1997). I, too, am guilty of this, but archival work serves as a reminder of the problems that are associated with such a measure. First and foremost, DW-NOMINATE scores are calculated for members using roll call votes over the entirety of their careers, so any given member's ideology appears stable longitudinally.⁸ Second, each roll call vote is weighted equally in the calculation of the DW-NOMINATE estimate. Though the end result produces a good measure of ideology that has become widely accepted by congressional scholars, the calculation of DW-NOMINATE scores requires computational concessions that are not terribly realistic representations of the political world, particularly in the realm of congressional campaigns. Archival research affirms this vividly.

Take the case of Arizona senator Barry Goldwater. Goldwater is often depicted as an unwavering, true conservative believer by both contemporaries and historians (Edwards 1995; Matthews 1997).⁹ Certainly, Goldwater's DW-NOMINATE score of .63 over the course of his career suggests the strength of his convictions. An examination of documents retrieved from Goldwater's Senate papers suggests a more complicated reality. In 1980, Goldwater faced his toughest reelection fight yet, against a young and relatively conservative Democrat. On a host of issues, businessman Bill Schulz mirrored Goldwater, particularly on taxes, spending,

and national defense. The problem Goldwater faced, however, was the rise of the religious right, a group that did not necessarily see eye to eye with him on social issues. In particular, Goldwater had not established a clear stance against abortion politically. Opposed personally to the practice, he had not ruled out a woman's right to choose without government interference. In fact, Goldwater's wife, Peggy, was an active member of Planned Parenthood in Arizona, and the couple hosted a fundraiser for the organization on October 4 during the 1980 campaign.¹⁰ Despite his apparent pro-choice sympathies, in the closing weeks of the campaign, Goldwater publicly endorsed the Human Life Amendment to the Constitution banning abortion. He did so in a letter to a supporter and publicly in a forum sponsored by KOOL-TV and the *Arizona Republic* in Phoenix ("Goldwater Creates" 1980).¹¹ Goldwater's apparent flip-flop became fodder for a Schulz television advertisement, where the narrator notes that Goldwater had written to pro-choice organizations on five occasions in the past year promising to vote against a Human Life Amendment.¹² Goldwater's voting record depicts a true conservative warrior, but his personal papers suggest someone who understood the importance of political calculation. This underscores that an issue's salience matters during a campaign, something which relying upon roll call votes or DW-NOMINATE scores clearly underestimates.¹³

The struggle a candidate faces over a particular issue can be illustrated by his or her correspondence or memoranda dictated for the record. Another useful tool that helps researchers understand the visibility and salience to voters of particular campaign issues is the constituent correspondence which is the bane of every congressional archivist's existence. Constituent mail is prolific and oftentimes repetitive. Despite its repetitiveness and volume, a flood of mail on a particular issue can help political scientists understand its salience to voters, as well as the intensity of public opinion on the matter.

Although Georgia senator Herman Talmadge faced a number of problems of his own making during his 1980 reelection campaign (especially

a slew of ethics charges which led to a Senate vote admonishing him for financial improprieties in the management of his Senate office), his vote in favor of the Panama Canal Treaties might have played a role in his defeat. At the very least, Talmadge received a lot of constituent correspondence on the matter, including letters, petitions, and postcards. A tally of this correspondence yielded 1,022 opposed to the treaties, four neutral, and only one in favor. A letter from Carl E. Anderson from Garden City, Georgia, to Talmadge dated October 25, 1977, is typical of the anti-Panama Canal Treaty correspondence that was received by the senator. Anderson wrote,

I was shocked when I learned that our president wanted to turn over control of OUR CANAL to a leftist Dictator. The more facts I learn the madder it makes me. Can President Carter and YOU be so out of touch with the American people, particularly fellow Georgians that he has allowed these events to progress to this point?¹⁴

Garden City is a suburb of Savannah, Georgia, in Chatham County. Talmadge won Chatham County in 1974, but it is one of only twenty-nine counties (out of 159) he lost in 1980 to Republican Mack Mattingly. Other correspondents writing on the canal issue hailed from rural counties throughout the state that Talmadge ultimately won, but with much lower margins than in past elections. Despite Talmadge's sound work on farm issues as the chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, his ethics woes and support of President Jimmy Carter on Panama may have sunk his reelection chances. Constituent correspondence is yet another way to measure the intensity of a constituency's feelings about an issue, something that can also be measured with surveys (for example, by asking what is the most important problem facing the nation or a state). Unfortunately, few surveys of state or local races done by national polling organizations provide such a detailed picture of the electorate—and those surveys that do are usually the exit polls that are taken on Election Day.

GOING HOME PROBABLY AFFECTS ELECTION OUTCOMES

Another important activity illuminated by congressional archival collections is a member's trips back to the state or the district. Richard Fenno (1978) demonstrated the importance of a member's particular representational styles as communicated to constituents on visits back home. Travel home itself can become an important campaign issue, too. In 1984, Mitch McConnell successfully made Senator Walter Huddleston's attendance record and trips outside of Kentucky an issue (Andersen, Ogden, and Phillips 1984).¹⁵ In 1980, Goldwater's opponent accused him of neglecting his constituent service duties, noting that he "is rarely seen in rural areas" and people "no longer call his office because he's not available."¹⁶ Goldwater privately agreed in a memo dictated to his administrative assistant, Judy Eisenhower, where he wrestles with the decision to seek reelection in 1980: "I guess it's been six years since I've been in places like Holbrook and Winslow and other smaller places around the State, but that's been at my own choice."¹⁷

It would be useful to measure a member's travel home as a predictor of reelection success. This is difficult to implement in practice. Members of Congress do get reimbursed for official travel home from House and Senate accounts designated for this purpose. Reporting requirements, however, have varied greatly throughout the modern congressional era. There is also a great deal of variance in how congressional and senatorial offices record travel home on vouchers. Some offices are explicit as to where a senator or member traveled when he or she went home; others simply forward bills from travel agents or credit card companies, listing the dates of travel and the destinations of round-trip airline flights.¹⁸ Finally, official travel does not capture all travel home. Some travel is paid by a member's campaign account, and if the member holds a committee chairmanship, the committee might pick up the costs of travel back home. Relying upon the secretary of the Senate's or the House clerk's records to count trips home provides an imperfect measure of a member's attempts to stay in touch with his or her constituents.

Fortunately, congressional archives usually provide much richer and more detailed resources for the scholar attempting to account for member travel. Members' lives are carefully scripted and detailed by their office assistants and schedulers. Often, the researcher will find a member's official appointments calendar, detailing a member's meetings while he or she is in Washington, and at minimum, indicating when the member is traveling back home. Better yet, most offices provide detailed agendas for their bosses when they are traveling back in the state or district. These agendas list when flights arrive and depart, what communities the member will visit during the day, and in which activities he or she will partake, and they often list key city and county political individuals the member might expect to meet and see. Ohio senator John Glenn's office was meticulous in this regard; not only does the researcher know exactly where Senator Glenn was at any given moment on any given day, he or she will also likely have extensive background memos on each event and remarks prepared for each occasion appended to the senator's daily schedule. In fact, Glenn's staff provided an annual summary listing not only the total number of appearances made by the senator to Ohio but also the number of appearances he made in each county throughout the year. Table 4 details Glenn's travels between 1987 and 1992, the year he launched his last reelection campaign. It tells three important stories. First, it provides evidence confirming the Senate campaign-govern-campaign cycle noted by Fenno. Glenn made only twenty-two appearances in Ohio in 1987, immediately following his reelection, with travel home essentially increasing each year until 1992, when Glenn made more than 132 appearances in Ohio—a six-fold increase over 1987. Second, the table also tells where Glenn traveled in Ohio—and it appears that he did a good job of getting around the state during his six-year term. Third, the mere existence of the table in Glenn's congressional papers tells something about Glenn as an office manager. He demanded precision, a characteristic that was undoubtedly honed during his prepolitical career in the military and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA).

Table 4. Senator John Glenn and going home, 1987–1992.

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
Total Appearances in Ohio	22	53	32	50	110	132
Percentage of Ohio Counties Visited	9%	19%	10%	24%	24%	39%
Percentage of Appearances in Cuyahoga, Franklin, and Hamilton Counties	68%	51%	50%	43%	55%	41%

Note. Calculated by the author from a memorandum dated October 18, 1992, Series 1. Personal/Political, Subseries Domestic Trip Files, box 29, f. 10, John Glenn Papers, University Archives, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Table 5. Senator Barry Goldwater and going home, 1975–1980.

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Number of Days in Arizona	32	60	50	68	49	110
Percentage of the Year Spent in Arizona	9%	16%	14%	19%	13%	30%
Percentage of Arizona Days spent in Maricopa or Pima Counties	91%	78%	88%	71%	78%	68%

Note. Calculated by the author from daily and campaign schedules located in Series V. Administrative, Subseries Travel, and Series I: Personal, Subseries Senate Campaigns, Barry Goldwater Papers, Arizona Historical Foundation, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona.

The Goldwater archives also contain the senator's daily schedules and itineraries that were prepared for his various trips back home to Arizona. The record is unambiguous and exists in stark contrast to Glenn's: Goldwater did not travel home very often in the five years after his reelection in 1974, and when he did, he spent the bulk of his time in Maricopa or Pima County (see table 5). Maricopa County—essentially metropolitan Phoenix—was Goldwater's home county, and Pima County is the home of Tucson's second-largest city and only a ninety-minute drive from Phoenix. Goldwater had good reasons for remaining in Washington: he had had a series of operations on his hip and moving around was quite difficult and painful, particularly in 1980, when a wire in his hip snapped,

requiring another operation that resulted in a secondary staph infection (Goldberg 1995, 305; Goldwater 1988, 376).¹⁹ Goldwater also spent some time traveling through the country building the Republican Party's organization. Nevertheless, he did not visit his constituents in Arizona as often or as widely as he may have in the past, and many of his trips centered on speeches given to either supporters or high school graduates. In short, the claim made by Bill Schulz that Goldwater had been scarce in Arizona during the five years leading up to the 1980 election campaign was accurate and true, confirmed by the office and campaign schedules found in the archival record.

One might conjecture that Goldwater's connection with his constituents suffered because of his various ailments and out-of-state sojourns, which made him vulnerable to the Schulz campaign's aggressive effort. One might also conjecture that John Glenn survived a tough reelection challenge despite the taint of the Keating Five scandals and the DeWine campaign's assault on his long-standing presidential campaign debt in part because of his reconnecting with Ohio voters on his trips back home. Of course, these accounts are not meant to provide a systematic test of the electoral usefulness of going home, but if one collects enough travel schedules across enough archival collections, a variable for the number of days a candidate spends in the district can be created and inserted into models predicting electoral success. I would hazard an educated guess that building connections with constituents by traveling home helps members of Congress get reelected—particularly when they are facing adverse partisan demographics or difficult national electoral trends.

VOTER MOBILIZATION MATTERS

A campaign's ground game—the grassroots effort to mobilize and target voters—is nearly impossible to observe using standard campaign and elections data. Surveys such as the American National Election Study (ANES) ask whether individuals are contacted by political parties or candidates

during a campaign. These self-reported contact questions are fraught with difficulties. The most obvious is their dependence upon the respondent's memory recalling the contact. However, there is another problem from the perspective of the campaign itself. The very nature of surveys precludes an examination of a campaign's grassroots strategy. Campaigns target particular voters in particular precincts while completely ignoring other voters in other precincts. It is impossible to evaluate a campaign's voter turnout operation unless one has access to the very plan.

Often, in the files on campaigns, congressional archives will have the tools necessary for the researcher to examine and independently evaluate a campaign's voter targeting plan. In the case of Goldwater's 1980 campaign, his longtime campaign manager Steven Shadegg had drawn up a series of memos listing which precincts would be heavily targeted by the campaign's get-out-the-vote (GOTV) operation. Why is this important? It is puzzling why Goldwater, in a heavily Republican year in a Republican-leaning state, barely eked out a nine thousand-vote victory in the general election with Ronald Reagan heading the ticket. Equally puzzling is how the campaign held on despite a well-organized and well-funded challenge mounted by a young and particularly energetic Democratic candidate. Those who worked for Goldwater suggest that the voter turnout operation, especially the effort to encourage absentee voting in Maricopa County, provided the key to victory.²⁰ Assessing this claim nearly thirty years later would be nigh impossible if it were not for the Goldwater papers containing Shadegg's strategy memo.

Shadegg's memo divided precincts into four types: predominately Republican precincts (R-A and R-B), swing precincts (S), and strong Democrat precincts (D). He indicated that turnout efforts should focus "first, on getting our supporters in the strongest Republican precincts to the polls" and that "the Strong Democrat precincts (D) are not worth any effort."²¹ Attached to the memo are Pima and Maricopa County precincts, grouped by these four designations. Pima County was a Democratic stronghold and home to Arizona's other senator, Democrat Dennis

DeConcini. Maricopa County, in contrast, was Goldwater's home county and the supposed epicenter of a strong Republican GOTV effort headed by the Maricopa County Republican Party.

Using these data presented in the Shadegg memo, combined with precinct tallies available at the county recorders' offices in both Pima and Maricopa Counties, allows an assessment of the claim that Republican GOTV efforts helped to secure Goldwater's victory. Although similar information is not available from Bill Schulz's campaign, Schulz admitted in an interview that his absentee ballot and GOTV operation was not as sophisticated as Goldwater's.²² One can evaluate, first, whether Goldwater's vote totals improved upon Republican Sam Steiger's vote totals from the open-seat election in 1976, also a presidential election year. Second, one can see whether voter turnout improved in 1980 relative to 1976. Finally, one can see the differences among areas that were specifically targeted by Goldwater and whether the Maricopa County operation outperformed the Pima County operation. In short, it is possible to demonstrate whether there is any empirical evidence supporting the speculative notion that the GOTV effort in Maricopa County helped Goldwater hold onto his seat.

Table 6. Comparison of Republican vote percentages in Republican, swing, and Democratic precincts in Maricopa and Pima Counties, 1976–1980.

	<u>Maricopa County</u>			<u>Pima County</u>		
	1976 Steiger	1980 Goldwater	1980–1976 Difference	1976 Steiger	1980 Goldwater	1980–1976 Difference
R-A	65%	68%	+3	49%	50%	+1
R-B	53%	58%	+5	44%	52%	+6
S	48%	54%	+6	38%	47%	+9
D	34%	39%	+5	27%	36%	+9

Note. Calculated by the author from precinct election returns for 1976 and 1980 provided by the Maricopa and Pima county recorders.

Table 7. Change in voter turnout between 1976 and 1980 in Republican, swing, and Democratic precincts in Maricopa and Pima Counties

	Maricopa County Turnout 1980–1976	Pima County Turnout 1980–1976
R-A	+4	-18
R-B	+15	+5
S	+5	+11
D	-8	+1

Note. See note in table 6.

Tables 6 and 7 appear to suggest that the answer is yes on all three counts. Goldwater received a higher percentage of the vote than Steiger did in 1976 in GOP-targeted areas—and received higher percentages in Maricopa as compared to Pima County. But the real difference is in voter turnout. In Maricopa County, turnout in Republican precincts was up substantially compared to voter turnout in Democratic and swing precincts. In Democratic Pima County, voter turnout in the strongest Republican precincts was down. In the areas targeted by Republicans in Maricopa County, more Republicans showed up in 1980 than in 1976, and they gave a higher proportion of their vote to Goldwater than they had done for the Republican nominee four years earlier. Finally, according to voter registration and early voting statistics obtained from the Maricopa county recorder's office, 4.7 percent of those voting cast ballots early in 1980. This is up about half a percentage point from 1976 and is 1.7 percentage points higher than 1978.²³ Considering that Goldwater lost every other county in the state but one, the nearly 50,000-vote margin in Maricopa County over Schulz likely pushed him over the top. And, it would seem that the GOTV effort crafted by Shadegg and implemented by the Republicans in Maricopa County helped keep Goldwater in the Senate for another six years.

THE PARTY-CENTERED CAMPAIGN DID NOT DISAPPEAR IN THE MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY

Scholars of political parties and Congress have long noted that the mid-twentieth century was an important point of departure for the conduct of congressional campaigns. Before the 1940s, most congressional campaigns were conducted by party officials using party resources. Indeed, many campaigns hardly featured the candidate at all: literature focused mainly on party issues and platforms rather than on the positions of candidates and their particular virtues as potential officeholders. But beginning in the 1940s and 1950s, scholars began to take note of a new campaign style: the candidate-centered campaign. These campaigns were of a different breed; the candidate's attributes and biography took center stage, and issue positions were frequently tailored to fit the particular interests and needs of the congressional district or state. Candidates began to self-finance their campaigns, and using the new media of television and radio, they spoke to voters directly in their homes rather than through the filtered medium of the party and its precinct workers. It was generally assumed that the transition between the two campaigns was quick, swift, and even across the country.

Unfortunately, this conventional wisdom is simply not true. Party- and candidate-centered campaigns coexisted during the mid-twentieth century, and the type of campaign that was undertaken depended in large part on the strength of the local party organizations within each state. In areas with strong and vibrant party organizations that were well funded and organized, candidates allowed the party to run the campaign. In areas where strong partisan traditions never developed, the candidate called the campaign shots and created personal organizations largely independent of the party. I posited that congressional campaigns were more or less candidate-centered depending upon the local party's ability to contribute the resources necessary for the candidate to win election.

Using campaign correspondence, memoranda drafted by party and campaign officials, television and radio advertising scripts, and campaign

brochures, congressional archives allowed a test of my resource theory of campaigns. Sure enough, clear patterns began to emerge between strong and weak party states. Illinois congressman Everett Dirksen's campaign against Senator Scott Lucas in 1950 demonstrated how different a campaign in a strong party organization state looked when compared to a campaign in a weak party organization state such as Idaho. Dirksen's campaign schedule was coordinated with parties at the state and local levels, and as Dirksen indicated in correspondence with a supporter, the campaign's "organizational work would be handled by the county chairman, the state central committees, the Cook County Committee, and the Federation of Women's Republican Clubs."²⁴ Fund-raising efforts usually stressed the importance of electing a Republican ticket, not just Dirksen to the Senate. Dirksen also appeared frequently with the entire statewide Republican ticket on campaign trips around the state (Parker 2008, 94).

Compare this to Frank Church's campaign for the Senate against Republican Herman Welker in 1956. According to a *New York Times* election postmortem, Church "operated out of his own headquarters in Boise, hardly bothering to check in with the Democratic State Headquarters" during the course of the campaign.²⁵ In campaign appearances throughout the state, Church wisely avoided Stevenson and issues of national importance. Indeed, in a note penned by Church to national speakers visiting Idaho in support of his campaign, he implored them to avoid these issues in favor of Idaho's economy and the record of his opponent.²⁶ Church raised his own money and ran his own campaign with virtually no assistance from the weak Democratic organization in the state or the national campaign committees. In short, Church ran the candidate-centered campaign that supposedly first emerged during the mid-twentieth century. Dirksen, in contrast, hardly ran his campaign, deferring to the party apparatus in the state. The archival record highlights these important differences between the two campaigns for the researcher who is looking for them.

The resource theory could not be tested with roll call data or election returns. Only an examination of the campaign record provided by congressional archives could tease out the relationship between individual campaign organizations and the party organization. And, the story that is told by these materials suggests that long-standing ideas about the evolution of congressional campaigns were, at best, incomplete and more complicated than existing accounts suggested.

AVAILABILITY OF INDIVIDUAL CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGNS' POLLS

Polls of individual congressional campaigns are widely available. Unfortunately, one would not know it from much of the work that has been done on congressional elections. There are three main resources scholars utilize to explain congressional campaigns: the American National Election Studies (ANES) time series; the 1978 ANES, which specifically sampled 108 congressional districts; and the ANES 1988–1992 Pooled Senate Study. The reason is obvious enough: it is exceedingly difficult to obtain the monetary resources for individual researchers to conduct frequent polls during individual congressional or Senate campaigns. The problem with using national surveys to study individual congressional campaigns is obvious: at most, there may be twenty or thirty respondents interviewed in any one congressional district, and in any case, the survey's sample is designed to be nationally representative, not representative of a particular state or district. Even the ANES Pooled Senate Study provides a sample of only one hundred voters in each state—hardly enough to draw any reasonable conclusions about the condition of a given Senate race. On top of all of that, these surveys do not allow for a dynamic view of the campaign. There is a presurvey and a postsurvey; that is it. The effects of particular campaign strategies or important campaign events on voter opinion cannot be measured, but only guessed at.

Fortunately, most congressional candidates—particularly incumbents—poll early and often. Frequently the researcher will find an extensive benchmark survey that was undertaken on the incumbent's behalf at least a year or more before the official start of the reelection campaign. Trend polls, at least two or three in the spring and summer months during an election campaign, are also frequently found in the archival record. And, if the researcher is particularly lucky, tracking data for the last month of the campaign may also be present. New Mexico senator Harrison "Jack" Schmitt's reelection campaign was particularly prolific in its polling efforts: not only were polls sponsored throughout his first term and tracking polls conducted during the final six weeks of the campaign, but the campaign even sponsored a postelection survey after Schmitt lost!

One limitation of these polls is the inability to conduct original analyses: the raw data are generally not part of the collections. Instead, the polling data in the archives are generally in the form of a research report drafted by the pollster. Most of the time, the reports provide all of the original questions along with extensive crosstabs. Despite these limitations, the picture that is presented to the researcher of an individual Senate campaign is much richer than one relying upon national survey data, especially given the propensity of political pollsters to ask open-ended questions about incumbents and their challengers. For example, Harrison Schmitt's loss in 1982 is often described as a referendum on the Reagan administration and the Schmitt campaign's negative tactics toward the end of the campaign (Barone and Ujifusa 1983). But Schmitt had other problems directly related to his representational connection that were not attributable to the Reagan administration and its policies. A survey done by Tarrance and Associates for the Schmitt campaign in early September of 1982 asked those people who indicated they would vote against Schmitt to explain why. Schmitt's issue stances and his links to the Reagan administration account for 47 percent of the open-ended responses volunteered by respondents. Nearly as many (44 percent) cited Schmitt's personality and legislative ineffectiveness.²⁷ It is clear that although Schmitt's close connection to Reagan hurt him, he had not established a close represen-

tational connection with voters, such as the “one-of-us” relationship that was advocated and enjoyed by New Mexico’s other Republican senator, Pete Domenici. In general, a candidate’s polls shed light on resource allocation strategies, the advertisements he or she ultimately chose to air, and the places he or she chose to spend time on the campaign trail. They also tell the story of how a member of Congress relates—successfully or not—to his or her constituents.

MEMBERS COMMUNICATE THEIR WASHINGTON WORK DIFFERENTLY

In traveling home, members of Congress explicitly communicate their representational style to their constituents. As Fenno (1978) noted, members of Congress routinely employ three key styles: “one of us,” policy expert, and constituent servant. It is hard, however, to observe these styles using traditional congressional campaign data. Certainly, a review of campaign advertisements is one way a researcher might proceed, and the Wisconsin Advertising Project has these data—if the campaign took place in 2000 or after and placed ads in one of the top one hundred media markets.²⁸ Before 2000, however, the researcher must rely upon newspaper accounts and campaign advertisements located in archival collections. As a 2009 article in the *American Political Science Review* indicates, however, campaign advertisements and media accounts are not always unmediated, complete, or representative of the population of campaigns (Druckman, Kifer, and Parkin 2009). In the same vein, newspaper articles and campaign ads may not provide an unmediated, complete, or representative picture of a member’s representational style—particularly the style he or she actively projects throughout the term in office.

The data that are available in congressional archives provide a second, and most satisfactory, measurement of representational styles in the press releases members themselves send to newspapers. Most congressional collections have a nearly complete complement of press releases sent by

members of Congress throughout their careers, usually in the aptly named press office files. These press releases are unmediated and are representative of how the member wishes to be portrayed publicly by the media. Using the titles of the press releases, the researcher can code the representational styles the member of Congress communicates to constituents. Totaling up these communications can reveal which members stress position-taking versus credit-claiming and whether particular patterns are observed as a candidate moves closer to the election. In the case of Alaska senator Mike Gravel, there was a discernible shift toward credit-claiming about federal grant monies to communities as the election year approached.²⁹ This makes sense: Gravel represented a state that benefited from a large influx of federal monies, and he specifically focused his reelection campaign on how his seniority, experience, and influence benefitted Alaska in Washington. Absent carefully observing a candidate during campaign travel and his or her interactions with constituents, examining how press secretaries seek to portray the Washington work of their members is perhaps the best way to observe the propensity of a member to affect a “one of us,” policy expert, or constituent service reputation.

LESSONS LEARNED AND HOW TO AVOID REPEATING THEM

By now I hope I have convinced the reader of the theoretical and empirical virtues of archival research. Archival research is a richly rewarding experience for the scholar of politics, and I find that it allows me to interact with the political process in a very different fashion compared to my more traditional, quantitative research. Although the term is fraught with normative implications, particularly among those people who study American politics, archival research allows one to establish a firmer grasp of the American campaign culture.

Other authors in this volume focus on the “how to” of archival research and have provided valuable clues to the uninitiated. Rather than provide the same tips, I offer instead three pitfalls the potential nonparticipant

observer should consider carefully before undertaking an archival trip. They are access restrictions, a collection's state of process, and for those interested in campaign advertisements, the state of audiovisual materials located within the collection.

The first consideration is whether a collection is open for research or not. There are three types of access restrictions I have come across: completely open, partially restricted, and closed. In the process of investigating a collection online, the archives will generally describe the terms of access governing its use. If a collection is completely open, then the researcher will have no problem; after establishing that the collection has materials of interest that appear to be sufficient in quantity, he or she can schedule a visit and go to work after thoroughly reviewing the collection's finding aid in consultation with the archivist responsible for the collection. Partially or completely restricted collections, however, are another matter altogether.

It is often the case that collections have sections that are closed to researchers for a certain time period. Very often this includes material of a particularly sensitive matter, such as case work requests pertaining to military academy appointments, problems with social security checks (where social security numbers may be listed), and the like. Patronage requests are another area that is often closed to the researcher, usually until the death of the donor. At other times, there may be no rhyme or reason for a restriction. It is worth it to read these restrictions carefully. In one instance, I had not and almost had to abandon a trip as a result: the materials I had hoped to access about a particular campaign were closed despite the fact that the senator of interest had been deceased for more than a decade. Gaining access proved surprisingly difficult and took well over two months of e-mail exchanges, letters forwarded to the family, and a copy of my book as evidence of my academic qualifications. Access was finally granted, and the trip was not cancelled. And, thankfully, the material I unearthed was terrific and well worth my determined efforts.

In other cases, collections may be completely closed to researchers. Do not be discouraged. It is always possible to request access to these collections, and sometimes, the donor may be willing to allow a researcher limited access. In these cases, it is important to become intimately familiar with the collection's finding aid and list exactly the boxes that are desired for examination. It is helpful to work closely with the archivist on a letter requesting access, because a carefully targeted request is more likely to be successful than one that is sweeping in scope. At worst, the request will not be granted. At best, access will be granted and the researcher may very likely be the first to review the collection—other than the archivist who initially processed it.

Access restrictions bring up another important point: oftentimes, collections that are restricted have yet to be processed by the institution holding the collection. Dealing with an unprocessed collection should give the researcher considerable pause; archival work is demanding when a collection has been well processed. Working with an unprocessed collection can be like sorting through a grandparent's attic: a long-lost family heirloom may be found after shifting for hours and hours, or the same amount of time might be spent looking at moldy back issues of *National Geographic*. The whole expensive research trip may yield absolutely nothing at all.

I have worked with two unprocessed collections and one partially unprocessed collection. In one instance, I had to open sealed boxes with a letter opener. Most unprocessed collections have a rudimentary finding aid that was put together by the congressional staff packing the boxes as they were shipped off for storage. This can provide some direction to the researcher. Second, the size of the collection relative to the member's career can provide some guide to the extent of the material that is available to the researcher. A member of Congress served for forty years and has only two boxes in the collection? This is generally a bad sign. Third, it is absolutely imperative to work with the archivist who is responsible for the collection—assuming a researcher has been granted access—to determine whether a trip is worthwhile. Even if a collection is completely

unprocessed, it is likely that someone has at least looked through it to get some idea of what it contains. Finally, unprocessed collections simply take more time to sift through. When a collection is well processed, certain folders and even whole boxes can likely be excluded by their titles and the content descriptions noted on the finding aids. In the case of unprocessed collections, it is generally the case that every folder and box that looks to be even remotely related to the research question will have to be looked through. That said, unprocessed collections can be quite fun to work with if one has the time and patience: they bring out the treasure hunter in every researcher. Senator Harrison "Jack" Schmitt's collection at the University of New Mexico is one such unprocessed collection. I found actual raw film footage on reels in six or seven boxes, representing the many hours of footage media consultant Roger Ailes took of Senator Schmitt for use in campaign commercials; I also found twelve different polls taken by the Schmitt campaign beginning in 1978 to help plot strategy for the 1982 reelection campaign. The material provided a rich and detailed view of the campaign and was well worth the effort taken to retrieve it.

Finally, a note for those scholars who are interested in reviewing campaign advertisements, either radio or television. One of the most frustrating aspects of doing archival work is hitting the proverbial research gold mine and then not being able to reach the gold. This is certainly the case at times with audiovisual materials. Television advertisements were often put onto Beta or $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch tapes, and radio ads were often recorded on reels. Unfortunately, it can be incredibly frustrating as a researcher to access what is on these tapes. Three barriers exist. First, the depository may not have the proper audiovisual equipment to view these materials in-house. In fact, this is often the case. Second, the depository may be reluctant to allow a researcher to view the materials because of their age and fragility. This is unfortunate given that these materials provide an important and rich record of the campaign that may not be accessible anywhere else.³⁰ Third, some collections are more than willing to let a researcher review the materials if he or she will pay to have them transferred to electronic media, such as a DVD or CD. This sometimes involves

paying for two copies: one for the researcher to take home and one for the archives to keep. Sometimes this is relatively inexpensive, but in one instance, I was asked to pay more than \$250 to transfer four audio-tape reels (I politely declined). The researcher should be aware of these costs and work them into any budget requests in advance if audiovisual materials will be viewed.

CONCLUSION

It is worth ending on a note of caution for the eager researcher who is ready to dive into the archives. Ultimately, political scientists often want to draw generalizable conclusions from their research. It is critical, therefore, to consider the very real threats of bias that can creep into one's research design if one is not vigilant. Two bias threats are particularly problematic. The first is selection bias, which can be mitigated by careful research design and the proper selection of cases. Unlike large *n*-quantitative studies relying upon the rules of statistical inference, cases should be purposively and not randomly selected. It is important to be sure, however, that the selection rule is not correlated with the dependent variable of interest. Otherwise, the causal relationships observed between the dependent variable and the independent variables may actually be driven by the selection rule—which represents a possible omitted variable that may be the real causal mechanism driving the phenomenon under study. Those scholars who engage in archival work can be too quickly dismissed as simple storytellers passing on interesting, but perhaps not representative, anecdotes. To make archival research truly compelling and informative, one must take selection bias seriously and avoid it as much as possible when constructing research design. Importantly, this means allowing “for the possibility of at least some variation on the dependent variable” of interest (King, Keohane, and Verba 1994, 129). It also means spending time at less-than-desirable locations instead of jetting off to Hawaii or Colorado whenever one wants to study at a congressional archive.

The other problem is that the historical record may itself be biased. Some documents are more likely to have survived to the present day, whereas some actors may be less likely to have left written or documentary accounts of their actions behind (Lustick 1996). In the case of senators and members of Congress, this is usually not problematic: their activities are often well documented by them and their staff. The issue can become troubling, particularly for those scholars studying campaigns, with the records of unsuccessful challengers. Rarely are the records of those who fail to get elected saved and archived.³¹ This is less problematic when studying Senate campaigns simply because few first-time candidates run for the Senate. Many Senate challengers are politically experienced, having enjoyed extensive public careers that generate vast research collections. But for members of the House, the problem is much more widespread. In short, history better documents those who win elections and serve in office than those who lose, and this implication is important to remember before drawing any conclusions about the campaign efforts of failed challenger campaigns, particularly in relation to the incumbent candidate.

Archival research holds great potential for the political scientist. The possibilities for new avenues of research are limited only by the time, funds, and tenure status of the researcher. The information that is available in congressional archives sheds new light on old questions, provides new measurements of theoretical concepts, and helps build new theories. Most importantly, archival records help political scientists to rediscover political process, which is often messier and less certain than theoretical models sometimes suggest. This is not an indictment of the discipline or quantitative research more generally, but merely an issue of perspective: sometimes it is worth observing politics up close and in detail before pulling back and looking at the bigger picture. Induction and deduction are two sides of the same research coin, and it is worth remembering that for all the attention political scientists pay to deduction, induction is another useful tool in their research kits that can also powerfully illuminate the political world.

ENDNOTES

1. I acknowledge the generous financial support of Montana State University in the form of a scholarship and creativity grant and research start-up funds provided by the vice president for research, creativity, and technology transfer. I would like to thank the archivists at the many research collections I have visited over the years for their expert assistance and advice. Three stand out for going above and beyond the call of duty: Linda Whitaker of the Arizona Historical Foundation, Jeff Thomas of the John Glenn Archives, and Alan Virta of the Special Collections at Boise State University. Their extensive knowledge of their collections has made my work easier and more enjoyable and, I hope, has allowed me to write better and more interesting books and articles. I am grateful especially to Sean Kelly for asking me to write this chapter and for providing so much scholarly advice and friendship.
2. See also Frisch and Kelly (2003) for an explication of the similar challenges faced in doing archival research.
3. For a discussion of the method of archival research more generally and its value to political scientists and the study of Congress in particular, see Harris (2005).
4. Kelly (2004) echoed some of the pitfalls and drawbacks of participant observation when discussing his experience as an APSA congressional fellow.
5. Memo to Jack Schmitt from Pete Domenici: "The Following Observations and recommendations are based upon personal contact with the Schmitt Campaign and Personnel, analysis of media impressions of the campaign, discussions with other politically interested persons, and certain very fundamental principles not of politics, but of human nature," n.d., f. "Domenici Memo," box 634, Harrison "Jack" Schmitt Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico. The Schmitt papers are unprocessed; the box number here and in other references is the original number assigned by Schmitt's staff upon transferring his papers to the University of New Mexico.
6. Ron Crawford is one such example. He worked out of Washington, DC, and was Goldwater's fund-raiser. His correspondence can be found throughout the Goldwater papers, but he is not someone who became intimately involved in the day-to-day operation of the campaign until the fall

- of 1980 (Goldberg 1995, 308). Crawford is an elusive fellow, and I spent some time tracking him down for an interview, locating him only through a chance e-mail sent to his wife after an extensive Internet search.
7. Memorandum, Harrison Schmitt to District Staff, "What has he done?" December 3, 1979, box 635, Harrison "Jack" Schmitt Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.
 8. W-NOMINATE scores avoid some of these problems by using only the votes of a single Congress.
 9. A new film produced in part by C. C. Goldwater, Senator Goldwater's granddaughter, paints a more nuanced picture, particularly on the issue of gay rights and abortion. See *Mr. Conservative: Goldwater on Goldwater* (2006).
 10. The entry "Planned Parenthood Cocktails" appears on Goldwater's calendar, located in Series V: Administrative, Subseries: Administrative, 96th Congress, box 534, f. 16, Barry Goldwater Papers. Entries for April 15, 1977, and October 1979 also list Planned Parenthood events in the Goldwater home (see box 534, f. 15 and box 530, f. 12 in the same series).
 11. "KOOL-TV/Arizona Republic Meet the Candidate's Forum," Series 3: Media Files, Box 7, f. 10 William S. Schulz Papers, Arizona Historical Foundation, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ. In fact, Goldberg noted that after Goldwater left the Senate in 1987, he was "no longer constrained by political considerations...and championed abortion rights...[by] agree[ing] to serve on [the National Coalition for Choice] national advisory board" (1995, 331).
 12. Schulz television ad "Flips," Series 3: Media Files, Box 7, William S. Schulz Papers. See also Goldberg 1995, 308.
 13. Of course, Poole and Rosenthal (1997) cautioned readers about making these types of errors when utilizing DW-NOMINATE estimates.
 14. Carl E. Anderson to Herman Talmadge, October 25, 1977, Series II: Press Office files, 1957–1980, Subseries D: 1977, box 80, folder 10, Herman Talmadge Papers, Richard Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Georgia. Emphasis is in the original. I calculated the tally of constituent opinion from constituent correspondence contained in folder 10 and boxes 56 to 58 in Subseries C: 1978 of Series II: Press Office files.
 15. The famous ad "Bloodhounds" can be viewed on YouTube: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bcpuhiIDx3Q>.

16. Television ad labeled "Duncan," airing October 10, 1980, Box 7, William Schulz Papers, Arizona Historical Foundation, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona.
17. Memorandum for the Record, "Reflections," April 27, 1979, Series I: Personal, Box 26, f. 29, Barry Goldwater Papers.
18. See Parker and Goodman 2009, Parker and Goodman n.d., and Goodman and Parker 2010 for a discussion of the problems and challenges in utilizing House and Senate office expenditure data.
19. Judy Eisenhower, phone interview with author, July 24, 2009.
20. Ibid.; Ronald Crawford, phone interview with author, June 26, 2008.
21. Letter from Stephen Shadegg to Mrs. Tom Fannin and Peter Dunn, September 19, 1980, Stephen Shadegg Papers, Arizona Historical Foundation, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona (unprocessed).
22. William R. Schulz, personal interview with author, June 5, 2008.
23. Information provided to the author by the Maricopa county recorder's office in the form of an Excel spreadsheet. Data are available from the author upon request.
24. Dirksen to Fred A. Burt, June 1, 1950, f. 150, Everett M. Dirksen Papers, Dirksen Congressional Center, Pekin, Illinois. Quoted in Parker 2008, 95.
25. "Church of Idaho Noted as Speaker," quoted in Parker 2008, 82.
26. Memorandum. "Concerning Certain Issues of Local Importance to Idaho in the Coming Election Campaign," n.d. series 5.1, box 2, f. 12, Frank Church Papers, Special Collections Library, Boise State University. Quoted in Parker 2008, 81.
27. Tarrance and Associates, September 1982, "A Survey of Voter Attitudes in the State of New Mexico," box 604, Harrison "Jack" Schmitt Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.
28. The Wisconsin Advertising Project is at <http://www.polisci.wisc.edu/~tvadvertising>.
29. I examined and coded the titles of all press releases sent by Gravel's Senate office between 1975 and the Democratic primary in August of 1980. The press releases can be found in Series XXXI: Press Releases, 1969–1980, Mike Gravel Papers, Arctic and Polar Collections, Elmer Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska.
30. The University of Oklahoma hosts the Julian P. Kanter Political Commercial Archive, which holds perhaps the most comprehensive collection of American political advertisements in the country. Many ads from presidential, Senate, and House campaigns are located here, and there are many commercials that are not located in individual congressional archives.

31. One notable exception is Bill Schulz's collection at the Arizona Historical Foundation. I am grateful that Schulz retained the records of his unsuccessful Senate bid and donated them to the foundation.

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CHAPTER 6

THE SEARCH FOR THE ELUSIVE EXECUTIVE

ARCHIVAL DATA COLLECTION METHODS AT PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES

Brandon Rottinghaus

Democratic thinking assumes the following: as the only national public representative, presidents should follow the preferences of the public on policy matters. However, presidents are graced with a national stage and a larger-than-life public presence, a fact that compels, perhaps even forces them to be active in the use of the “bully pulpit” to lead public opinion. So, do presidents lead or follow public opinion? When considering whether or not to lead or follow, do they consult public opinion surveys to inform them about what the public may or may not support? Unraveling the causal mechanisms behind such a contradictory set of conditions (leading and/or following public opinion) presents serious methodological trouble to even the most intrepid social scientist. Scholars have explored this question using heavily quantitative analysis with success, but the question about the actual internal White House use of public opinion data can be answered

only by examining the historical record from inside the White House. In this case, what is needed is primary evidence that documents the ways in which the president and his staff use public opinion to follow or lead public opinion.

After having grappled with this question, and having visited each free-standing presidential library to collect evidence to address this puzzle, I found that the documentary archival data demonstrated several interesting and telling trends concerning the White House's use of public opinion data (see Rottinghaus 2008, 2010). In particular, the archival record illustrated that presidential advisers were worried about appealing to public opinion (making them appear to pander on some issues), public opinion was used to pressure Congress when public opinion was on the president's side, the White House would attempt to manipulate public opinion with polls (and through the interpretation of these polls), presidents and their staffs were concerned about partisan publics as much as the mass public, and most importantly, presidents have the ability to use the "bully pulpit" to communicate with the public and effectively change their minds. In using the document collections at several presidential libraries, I more clearly understood how the White House worked to manage public opinion, including the assumptions that were made, the strategies that were attempted, and the outcomes that were understood.

In this chapter, drawing on my experience at multiple presidential archives over several years, I describe the lay of the land in terms of the presidential archival system and provide an overview of the research process at these libraries, including where to research, how research is conducted, and potential pitfalls that may hinder archival research or the interpretation of the archival data that are collected. My goal is to give readers a general overview and a sense for how my research needs were met with the methods I used and the techniques I employed.

ESSENTIAL CONSIDERATIONS

The papers of the presidents who served before President Herbert Hoover are maintained largely by the Library of Congress (LOC) in Washington, DC. The LOC has most of the documents from these early occupants of the Oval Office, but records are also scattered in other local collections (such as universities or historical societies). The Library of Congress's website notes:

The Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress is the nation's oldest and most comprehensive presidential library, for although the recently built presidential libraries each hold the papers of a single chief executive, the Manuscript Division has in its custody the papers of twenty-three presidents, including the men who founded the nation, wrote its fundamental documents, and led it through the greatest crisis of its existence.¹

Table 8 lists the individual presidents and the dates of the collections in the LOC. These documents are generally less voluminous than those for later presidents and are available from the main reading room in the LOC.

For presidents serving after Calvin Coolidge, the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) administers the presidential library system, which includes individual stand-alone presidential libraries for Presidents Hoover to (as of the time of this writing) George W. Bush—future presidents will also have similar stand-alone libraries. These libraries are governed by the Presidential Library Acts of 1955 and 1986, the Presidential Records Act of 1978, the Presidential Recording and Materials Preservation Act of 1974, and various executive orders.²

Table 9 lists the locations and websites of each of the freestanding presidential libraries. Some of the documents pertaining to the Nixon presidency continue to be located in the National Archives II in College Park, Maryland (although most of the records were moved to California in February of 2010); for instance, the Oval Office recordings during Presi-

dent Richard Nixon's time in office (January to July of 1973) will remain in the National Archives.

Table 8. Library of Congress presidential manuscript collections.

President	Dates in Office	Span Dates of the Collection	Bulk Dates of the Collection
George Washington	1789–1797	1592–1937	1748–1799
Thomas Jefferson	1801–1809	1743–1826	1775–1826
James Madison	1809–1817	1723–1859	1771–1836
James Monroe	1817–1825	1778–1831	1795–1822
Andrew Jackson	1825–1837	1775–1860	1785–1845
Martin Van Buren	1837–1841	1787–1910	1820–1850
William H. Harrison	1841	1734–1939	1796–1841
John Tyler	1841–1845	1691–1918	?
James K. Polk	1845–1849	1775–1891	1830–1849
Zachary Taylor	1849–1850	1814–1931	1849–1861
Franklin Pierce	1853–1857	1820–1869	1853–1856
Abraham Lincoln	1861–1865	1833–1916	1858–1865
Andrew Johnson	1865–1869	1814–1947	1864–1869
Ulysses S. Grant	1869–1877	1843–1969	1843–1908
James A. Garfield	1881	1831–1881	1850–1881
Chester A. Arthur	1881–1885	1843–1960	1870–1888
Grover Cleveland	1885–1889	1859–1945	1885–1908
Benjamin Harrison	1889–1893	1787–1945	1787–1892
William McKinley	1897–1901	1847–1901	1897–1901
Theodore Roosevelt	1901–1909	1759–1920	1901–1918
William H. Taft	1909–1913	1784–1941	1900–1930
Woodrow Wilson	1913–1921	1850–1924	1910–1919
Calvin Coolidge	1923–1929	1915–1932	1923–1927

Note. Table adapted from the Library of Congress Presidential Manuscript Division website.

Table 9. NARA presidential library websites and locations.

Presidential Library	Website	Location
Herbert Hoover	www.hoover.nara.gov	West Branch, Iowa
Franklin D. Roosevelt	www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu	Hyde Park, New York
Harry S. Truman	www.trumanlibrary.org	Independence, Missouri
Dwight D. Eisenhower	www.eisenhower.utexas.edu	Abilene, Kansas
John F. Kennedy	www.jfklibrary.org	Boston, Massachusetts
Lyndon B. Johnson	www.lbjlib.utexas.edu	Austin, Texas
Richard M. Nixon	www.nixonlibrary.gov	Yorba Linda, California
Gerald Ford	www.ford.utexas.edu	Ann Arbor, Michigan
James (Jimmy) Carter	www.jimmycarterlibrary.org	Atlanta, Georgia
Ronald Reagan	www.reagan.utexas.edu	Simi Valley, California
George H. W. Bush	http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu	College Station, Texas
William (Bill) Clinton	http://clinton.archives.gov	Little Rock, Arkansas
George W. Bush	www.georgewbushlibrary.gov	Dallas, Texas

ORGANIZATION OF THE ARCHIVES

All presidential archives are arranged a little differently, but most have similar characteristics. The following section describes the general organization of the archives, with an emphasis on the stand-alone presidential libraries. Keep in mind that a quality search should start with the finding aid and examine the papers of department offices, specific subjects, key individuals serving as administrative secretaries, press department officials, policy advisors, and/or department secretaries. General papers of the president are also available for searching, including the White House central files (including subject file, name file, and chronological file), the White House official files, the president's personal files, and (for some administrations) the president's secretary's files. Papers related to cabinet-level departments, executive agencies, regulatory agencies, and presidential staff are also available. Each of these sets of files is important to understand individually and is discussed in the following text.

The presidential archives of Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and Dwight Eisenhower have internal organizations (remaining from the old White House filing system) which are different from the archives subsequent to John Kennedy. The White House filing system pre-Kennedy was staffed by permanent civil servants (some of whose tenure began under the administration of William McKinley). This filing system possessed no true centralized or numerical system (relying on an antiquated and anachronistic U.S. Army filing system), which makes research trickier. Finding aids are available at each library which show the organization of the papers at the library; these documents are updated periodically and are often available online. For the archives of President Kennedy to the present, individual documents are usually cross-referenced among the papers to provide continuity (as will be explained in detail subsequently).

The White House central files in the Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower collections are divided into the official file, the general file, the confidential file, and the president's personal file (or the president's secretary's file). The White House official file contains files with a substantial quantity of factual materials on major issues of public policy, including executive orders, records of press conferences, and bills or resolutions that have been signed. These are usually just copies of letters sent in acknowledgment of other letters or reports sent to the president or additional hard copies of White House administrative materials, usually from important or influential citizens. The general files contain letters from individual citizens, interest group organizations, and occasionally members of Congress on matters of interest. These documents are usually simple acknowledgments from the White House staff and give no internal insight on presidential thinking. The White House confidential files are correspondences, memoranda, telegrams, and reports (often once-secURITY-classified material) which originated from or were sent to senior White House staff or the president.

The White House central file subject file (commonly referred to as the White House Office of Records Management subject file) contains

an alphabetical listing of documents sorted by subject. For example, according to the George H. W. Bush Library website:

The White House Office of Records Management (WHORM) Subject File consists of 58 broad subject classifications developed by the Office of Records Management during the Kennedy Administration to facilitate the filing and retrieval of White House records. The WHORM system allows White House personnel to file individual documents according to subject. Therefore, the Subject File is comprised of a limited number of main (or primary) categories (in this case 58) which in turn are divided into sub (or secondary) categories. Each primary category is assigned a two letter code, i.e. FI for Finance. All subcategories listed under finance are also assigned the same two letter code (FI) with a numeric extension of up to six numbers. For example: FI001 stands for Accounting–Audits while FI004-02 stands for Estimates–Budget. Within each category or subcategory, each document is assigned a unique six digit number.³

Three other kinds of files are frequently organized under the umbrella of the central files. First, the White House central files also often contain a name file. From the Ford Library:

The WHCF Name File is a name index to the Subject File. Cross-references to the Subject File are filed under the names of Senators and Representatives; organizations, corporations, and institutions; local, state, and foreign government officials; businesspersons, educators, celebrities, and office seekers; and many private citizens. A few projects are also indexed, at least partially, e.g. “Swine Flu Program.” The Name File also includes many items deemed too unimportant for the Subject File. The Name File has only marginal value for names of White House staff and certain other Executive branch officials.⁴

For my research, the documents in the name file were an easy way to locate the documents linked to a particular individual, such as a White House staff member or a member of Congress, who I suspected may have provided the president with information on public opinion.

Second, the central files also often contain a related chronological file. These documents are chronologically arranged carbon copies of letters sent over the president's facsimile signature (or sometimes a real signature). If a researcher were interested in determining the executive history of presidential activity, the chronological file can help him or her piece together the time trends. For instance, did the president know that people supported a policy idea before he advocated that policy? Such information is critical to identifying the nature of the president's action as leadership or responsiveness to public opinion. Third, the central files frequently contain a social file, which contains documents related to the social activities of the presidency. These files often include material on the first family, state dinners, presidential vacations, and other presidential trips.

The White House central files in presidential archives, including and subsequent to John Kennedy, are divided into two types of files: general and executive files. General files are those handled by lower-level White House staff members and include memoranda, letters, and reports from individual citizens or "unimportant" interest groups. Executive files are similar memoranda, letters, and reports, except that these forms are from higher-profile (or "important") groups such as members of Congress, former presidents, influential citizens, and members of the media, and these letters were written by or to senior White House staff. It is therefore more appropriate to view the latter files with greater concern and more intensity because it is in these files where most of the important policy decisions were made. Locating particular important documents in these archives is easier because every document is cross-referenced back to the central files holdings. For instance, if a specific memorandum is known to be in the files of the attorney general, that memorandum is cross-listed to the White House central files folder on that issue (but only if the memorandum is known to be located in that file). This is in contrast to the pre-Kennedy filing system, where documents were not centrally classified by subject and could not be cross-referenced. This often makes checking the provenance and history of a document more difficult. For instance, tracking which advisers viewed a particular memorandum in an attempt

to determine who knew what and when is more difficult if the location of each memorandum is not uniformly identified in each location.

Besides the central files, other specific offices within the West Wing or East Wing of the White House may have particular files, such as the Office of Presidential Speechwriting, the Office of Congressional Liaison (this office changes names across the administrations), the Office of Chief of Staff, the White House Press Office, the White House Counsel's Office, the White House Social Office, the Office of the First Lady, the Council of Economic Advisers, and the President's Personnel Office. These individual offices are sometimes large and well established, such as the White House Counsel's Office or the Office of the Chief of Staff. They are often unique to a particular presidential administration's policy or political needs. For instance, in the Jimmy Carter Library, the finding aid for the counselor to the president on aging reads:

Nelson Cruikshank served as Counselor to the President on Aging from January 1977, until April 1980, when he was replaced by Harold Sheppard. Richard Conn, a detailee from the Department of Labor, served as assistant to both. The Counselor on Aging served as the principal White House adviser on all issues dealing with the elderly and was the White House liaison with the Federal Commission on Aging.⁵

The files for individual members of senior White House staff (special assistants to the president, special counsel to the president, or counselor to the president) are also available for research.

Similarly, documents related to cabinet-level offices, such as the U.S. Department of State, U.S. Department of Energy, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, U.S. Department of Defense, and U.S. Department of Commerce, are housed at the archives of the presidents who were charged with their management. The documents from other regulatory or executive agencies are also often located at these libraries, including the U.S. Agency for International Development, Bureau of the Budget (later the Office of Management and Budget), U.S. Commission

on Fine Arts, U.S. Commission Civil Rights, Federal Communications Commission, Federal Trade Commission, and General Services Administration. As the size of government grew over time, the umbrella of presidential documents from these executive agencies and departments expanded. This allows researchers access to an unprecedented wealth of information, although the volume can be overwhelming.

Similarly, many archives separate files which are more personal in nature to the president's daily business while he is in office. For instance, the president's personal file (most frequently present for older presidents, such as Hoover, Roosevelt, and Truman) contains a president's social correspondences, congratulatory letters, and other memos to and from the White House staff. In some archives, these papers are called the president's secretary's files and include private documents initiated by, received by, or kept by the president's personal secretary. These include documents the president wrote on (the originals are frequently kept separate from duplicates in a "president's handwriting file"), materials from the president's outbox, and other documents related to the president's daily "homework." It is in these files where one can get a window into the inner workings of the White House staff and often an intimate view of the president's viewpoints on a range of issues. Postpresidential papers are generally also a part of the textual record at most libraries, especially for those presidents who lived for a long period of time after leaving the office.

Of course, certain archives have particular sets of papers or files that are unique to the administration or endemic to specific individuals within the auspices of the president in question. These documents can also be a valuable source of information because they are specific to an individual, event, or organization. For instance, President Eisenhower's personal secretary, Ann Whitman, created several chronological files containing items the president saw that week or documents he requested. Similarly, at several libraries, the diaries of specific individuals are valuable for the insight into the politics, personnel, and issues of the time. Also, papers of

the political parties (and often key individuals), such as the Democratic National Committee or the Republican National Committee, involved during the term of the president's service are commonly a wealth of quality data. These topics often contain records of the president's campaigns for public office; these are not generally the property of the government, although they are donated to the archive, so special permission may be required to access them. These organizations or activities were frequently headed by staff who were close to the president, making the documents in them relevant for analysis. For instance, much of the public opinion polling done by the White House's reelection efforts is integrated into the daily presidential activities, making these documents of particular importance to my research for identifying how presidents and their staffs were influenced by public opinion polling.

Typically, a presidential archive will also have two other kinds of non-document-related collections. First, all archives have audio and visual materials that can be accessed in the same manner as the textual materials. These materials usually include audio recordings, video recordings, still photographs, news interviews, press conferences, presidential speeches, and other materials. A researcher who is interested in working with these materials should consult with the library's audiovisual archivist (which each presidential library employs). Second, most libraries (especially those that have been in place longer) have oral histories of staff, family, friends, business associates, government workers, presidential staff, and other notable figures who knew or worked with the president. These oral histories tend to be taken shortly after a president leaves office but are also taken periodically by library staff or at specific conferences. Texts of these interviews are usually requested in the same manner as other textual documents. These interviews are often very candid and give the researcher a clearer sense of an issue or event. In my work, advisers who were timid about a written endorsement of the use of public opinion as a reason for action were much more forthcoming when they were asked about it in these oral history interviews.

Beyond the official federal records of a president's administration (the documents that have been described in the preceding paragraphs), all presidential archives contain some mix of the personal papers of many cabinet members, business associates, staff members, friends of the president, influential advisors, writers and academics of the time, and family members. These documents (usually indicated by "files" or "papers" instead of "records") are typically donated to the presidential archive subsequent to the president's term in office. These papers are also a valuable source of information on issues or events that may contain a different or value-added perspective. For my work, the papers of Robert "Bob" Teeter, who served as the pollster for Presidents Gerald Ford and George H. W. Bush, were useful as a source of his style of reporting the White House's internal polling data to the president and his staff. Often, however, these documents are simply duplicates of documents that are contained in the official records (several copies of each official documents are made) and are typically not cross-referenced to the original document in the official White House files. These papers are frequently subject to restrictive deeds of gift and may require special permission to access (this will be described in more detail in the following section). These papers are also often only partially processed, depending on the size of the collection and the recency of their acquisition.

GAINING ACCESS

These records are government documents, so they are publically accessible to anyone who wants to see them. The first step for a researcher is to contact (via e-mail or phone) the library that he or she wants to visit to ask about the collections or topics of interest. At that point, an appointment can be made; this is not required but is recommended so that the archival staff can have the materials ready when the researcher arrives. Upon arrival at the library, the researcher will be asked to show government-issued identification and fill out a short form, including information about his or her researcher status (academic, public, student), the scope

of the research (if applicable), and the general topics he or she desires to research. Information about the research agenda is not required to gain access to the papers, but this information will help an archivist to make the researcher's visit more productive because he or she will know what is being sought. A research card with a unique number will be assigned; it must be used to sign in each time a researcher visits the research room of a library or when requesting documents from the archivists. This card expires one year after the date it is assigned but can be updated at any time.

The first step of a research strategy should be to consult the finding aids, which should be available online and will certainly be available at the library. These catalogues are a research road map. If research is being done online, it is important to ask the archivists if there are any updates that have not been put online yet. The archival staff may update and distribute these in the research room before they are put online. Likewise, if the archival search process is started online, a researcher can consult the Archival Research Catalog (ARC) online to start the search. These records tend to be less well updated than the finding aids either in the research room or on the website for each library, so they should be used as a starting point rather than an ending point.

If the documents related to a subject, person, or event are not currently available for research because these records have not been processed by the archive, a researcher can file a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request.⁶ A FOIA request will formally begin the process to open the records in question and request that the archive begin systematic processing of the papers related to the FOIA request. A researcher should consider filing a FOIA request if the documents related to a subject, person, or event he or she desires to see are not currently available for research because the archivists have not yet processed the information (a separate process for requesting to see classified materials is discussed in the next paragraph). FOIA requests are valuable to researchers because they can give access to the new documents; however, these requests are processed in order, so it may be several years before a researcher is

allowed access to those documents. Documents processed by a FOIA request are eventually integrated into the permanent papers, but they are a good way to search for specific issues, people, or events before the documents are processed in order. In more recent presidential libraries, FOIA-based documents are often listed separately from the permanent collection. For instance, at the George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton Libraries (as of this writing), each archive has few total documents processed, so it makes sense to start with those documents that have been processed by FOIA request. Likewise, archivists regularly update previously classified documents, so it is helpful to inquire about these possible collections.

A researcher can also specifically make a request for individual documents that have been processed but are classified (or restricted) for reasons of national security to be unclassified while he or she is at the library; these can be done on a case-by-case basis.⁷ Some can be done administratively (or internally by the archival staff or the head archivist of the library), whereas some require a more lengthy external process of declassification by national security personnel. Summing this up, the National Archives outlines the following procedures for gaining access to national security-classified records:

- (1) If a Presidential record or a portion thereof is closed under a restriction of the Presidential Records Act (PRA), with the exception of national security classified information, the closure may be appealed by the researcher.
- (2) An appeal should be filed in writing no later than ten working days after the researcher receives written notification that access to the Presidential records has been denied and should specify why the researcher feels access should be granted. For additional information regarding appeal procedures, researchers should contact the library holding the records.

(3) The appeal is first addressed to the Presidential library, where the closed materials are re-reviewed by the library's appeal authority, often the director.

(4) If the appeal authority overturns the closure, the materials are submitted for notification to the legal representatives of the former and incumbent Presidents according to the Presidential Records Act (PRA).

(5) If the appeal authority sustains the closure, the researcher may appeal to the Assistant Archivist for Presidential Libraries. There is no additional appeal authority.

Materials restricted due to national security can be challenged and are reviewed by designated officials of the originating or responsible agency, or by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) under a written delegation of authority. Appeals to the agency responsible for the declassification can be made and a researcher can further appeal a denial under a mandatory review to the Information Security Appeals Panel.⁸

This process governs only those records that are national security-based restrictions, not records that are unprocessed (which have to be requested through FOIA).

After determining which documents are of interest, a researcher will be asked to fill out a short form identifying the collection, box numbers, and name of the individual in question (each of which are obtained from the finding aid). The archivist will pull these boxes and bring the researcher a cart containing the documents in individual archival boxes (most carts can hold between fifteen and twenty boxes, and a researcher can usually request only as many as the cart will hold). Because these documents are often originals, they must be handled with care, but sometimes original documents have been removed from circulation and photocopies are included instead. Each archive will have a formal set of rules that must be followed for a researcher to be allowed to view the documents. These typically include having only one box out at a time, having only one folder

out at a time, having a folder marker in the box (to keep track of the folder order in the box), and handling only one document at a time.

What a Researcher Can Bring

Most reading rooms will require that visitors leave backpacks, bags, purses, and other personal items outside the reading room (typically in library-provided lockers). As in many libraries, food and drink (and occasionally gum) are generally not permitted. Most archives allow one to bring in a laptop computer (although it may be searched when one leaves the research room). Archives do not allow ink pens in the reading room, but most will provide scratch paper (often with a hole punched in it so that documents cannot be transported out) and a pencil for taking notes and filling out any documentation. Special permission is usually required for cameras or scanning equipment for making copies or duplicates of the documents; this is becoming more common but is still reviewed on a case-by-case basis. Ask the archivist or research room manager for details. Do not be offended if the research or security staff asks to inspect a bag or other materials. At one library, I had a security personnel ask me to open my laptop to see if there were any documents inside. The job of these staff is to keep the documents safe and available for current and future researchers.

Photocopying

There are two ways to get photocopies from the documents in the library: make them yourself or have the library make them. If a researcher does the copying, the library usually has special procedures for making these copies to protect the documents. Usually, a researcher will take a whole box or folder (not an individual document) to the photocopy station, which either has a code assigned to the researcher or a space for a counter which is included to keep track of the copies. Only one photocopy may be made at a time (so using the feeder attachment on the copy machine is not allowed). These copies are (as of this writing) fifteen cents. If a researcher prefers that the library make the copies, it is usually necessary to (1) fill out

a form specifying the collection, box, folder, and document to be copied and (2) mark those documents with specially designated markers (marked “go” and “stop” at some libraries). These copies are more expensive and are (as of this writing) between fifty and seventy-five cents, depending on the library. The copies will be mailed to the researcher, usually in the order in which the library receives the requests. These requests can be made in person at the library, over the phone, or by e-mail.

ARCHIVAL CHALLENGES

The quality of archival research is only as good as the time the researcher is willing to put in, the archivists, and the finding aids. A comprehensive search of a presidential archive would entail sifting through several hundred million documents. For comparative purposes, the Johnson Library contains 35 million documents, the Nixon Presidential Materials Project contains 45 million documents (only 7 million of which are open to the public), the Ford Library contains 21 million documents, and the George H. W. Bush Library contains 38 million documents. Many of the documents in question are lost to history because of inadequate or incomplete finding aids. It is therefore necessary to rely rather heavily on the archival finding aids, but thinking “outside the box” and pursuing alternative research strategies is often productive and necessary to find appropriate and germane data. For example, researching secondary sources for alternative individuals or issues related to one’s research topic may be fruitful. In one instance, I was having trouble locating polling data for a primary presidential adviser who was sure to have access to public opinion data. Secondary sources led me to the files of this staffer’s assistant, where the archivists had filed the relevant documents.

A prominent disadvantage in using archival research is the possible selection bias problem because certain papers may not be available for research for a number of reasons. For all presidential administrations, many small but significant events, such as personal thoughts or phone

calls, were not recorded (Howell and Pervenier 2001). Interpersonal conversations or discussions in meetings often do not find their way into the permanent historical record. Certain staff members may record their observations from meetings but rarely are candid assessments included systematically. This presents a challenge of compiling a complete record of a decision-making time line, the causal factors that were taken into consideration for a critical decision, or an analysis of the alternatives that were considered in a particular situation.

Second, fundamentally, the records of the archives are those collected by other people, often pursuant to statutes or rules that provide wide latitude in what is released and what is not released. For instance, an archivist at one presidential library may interpret issues in a particular memoranda related to privacy differently than another archivist would. Simply put, the nature of a specific kind of document released at one library may be different at another library. Likewise, important and relevant documents could have been lost or discarded either by the principal author or by staffers when they were sorting materials (Hill 1993). Also, bulk materials (such as bulk letters to the president) are often destroyed because of concerns about storing all of the excess documents. Archives keep less than half of all papers that are related to the president, making the job of an archival researcher challenging.

Third, access to certain papers may be restricted for a variety of other, idiosyncratic reasons. Some of the materials that are uniquely relevant to an analysis of presidential involvement with public opinion are not yet open to the public. For instance, for later presidents, including George H. W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush, many of the materials have not yet been opened by archivists.⁹ During the first five years after a president leaves office, the archival staff is tasked with the process of beginning to process the files (usually around 5 percent of the collection). Pursuant to the Presidential Records Act of 1978, after that five-year period is up, those processed presidential records are made available for research and all presidential records become open to FOIA requests.

Similarly, as discussed earlier, even if the material has been reviewed, certain holds can be placed on the material based upon several reasons. For instance, documents can be withheld because of a P-5 classification (confidential advice from a staff member to the president) by an archivist or a restrictive deed of gift. These possible reasons for restriction include national security and privacy issues (papers relating to the appointment of federal officials) as well as the fact that the release of the document may violate a federal statute, disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information, disclose confidential advice between the president and his advisors or among such advisors, or invade personal privacy. These determinations are made either by the archivists, jointly by the archivists and national security staff, or by the donor of the specific papers, who can put restrictions on the use of those documents. As noted earlier, these papers can be requested to be released, but this process can be slow. For older libraries, this is less of an issue. According to the National Archives, "For libraries with papers and records over 25 years old, the libraries have reviewed, declassified and opened a tremendous amount of materials."¹⁰ These reviews are conducted periodically and release more than a million documents per year.

INTERPRETING THE ARCHIVAL RECORD

Even if one has confidence in one's search strategy, the sheer volume of presidential documents precludes a full accounting of *all* of the documents of interest. As a result, one can never be fully certain that a complete set of documents can be found. For instance, in reading memoranda from individuals inside the West Wing, one set of data may be interpreted in one way by an individual adviser and in another way by a different staff member. Similarly, specific key documents in the chain of evidence or from important individuals may be missing, excluded, misfiled, or simply destroyed. Relying on a single document for an evaluation of the White House's thought process can therefore be misleading. My experience in researching the use of public opinion data by White House staff demon-

strated that some staff were much more likely to consult polling data and to recommend to senior staff or the president that action be taken based on that data. However, a more complete search for the important staffers involved in advising the president demonstrates that the enthusiasm of one staff member was often muted by the pessimism of another. For this reason, using multiple perspectives or several case studies to gain perspective on the depth and scope of the discussion inside the White House is important. In addition, it is wise to use supplementary primary and secondary sources to corroborate archival findings.

Another issue is how the material that the president himself handled, read, or commented on was categorized and filed. Documents which were handled, read, or written on by the president are commonly stamped "The President Had Seen" and retired to the president's personal file. However, specific presidents may have handled fewer documents and could have been briefed more frequently in person than on paper. Presidential staff secretaries or personal aides may have handled such documents differently in each administration because there is no rule governing how these documents are identified as presidential property. The diversity of ways in which these documents were handled makes causal inference problematic. For example, I was interested in understanding the chain of evidence concerning public opinion polling data within the White House. In particular, I wanted to know if the president personally inspected or read polling reports as part of a way to establish that the president may have acted in a certain way knowing public opinion. I ended up abandoning this as a line of causal discussion because of the difficulty of systematically ascertaining whether or not each president was in contact with these documents.

In summary, the archival record on a subject, issue, or event may be incomplete. The task for the researcher and analyst is to establish and document a search strategy to demonstrate to readers that the conclusions that were drawn were appropriate. There are several ways for a researcher to achieve this. The preponderance of evidence all pointing in the same direction can constitute evidence of a trend or causal mechanism (Yin

2002). That is, if the White House staff were giving the president consistent advice to take a specific course of action and the president took that action, the evidence should be considered strong. Similarly, an analytical strategy that selects cases from a broad range of issues (e.g., economic, budget, foreign policy) and from episodes involving different presidents across time (e.g., mid-twentieth- and late twentieth-century presidents) and across electoral circumstances (e.g., first- and second-term presidents) allows for variation in the cases that are examined and thus a more persuasive generalizable trend.

CONCLUSION

A comprehensive presidential archival search is an informative way to analyze presidential history and is central to many important works in the study of the presidency (Stuckey 2006). A reliance on historical data for the purpose of testing theories is a powerful way to examine trends in the presidency. One major advantage of presidential archival research is that empirical investigations can be conducted inside the “black box” of presidential policy making. Further, as Page (1993) noted, untangling the decision making of political actors may be best conducted by just such a method because it provides a relatively clear and valid explanation of the players’ thoughts and arguments. Armed with the fertile information from the actual time of decision making, researchers can find out what the president and his staff knew and when they knew it.

It is difficult, although not impossible, to treat archival data analysis of this sort in a truly systematic manner. In that sense, as is the situation with most case study–based works, it is impossible to definitively prove the assertions that are made with qualitative evidence. However, given the range of cases and the interpretations of theories of behavior and leadership, it can be claimed with some certainty that assertions connected to broad trends or to theories developed from the literature are plausibly correct. The sheer volume of memoranda, letters, reports, and recom-

mendations prohibits a complete exploration, and one must be careful when discussing casual connections and in proposing absolute conclusions. Researchers and analysts of the trends must take care to set out a firm and defensible research strategy before undertaking an archival search. This will save time for a researcher and provide a justification for his or her methodology. Even considering these serious issues, the richness, import, and uniqueness of the historical records that are housed at these presidential libraries provide for an unparalleled analysis of presidential behavior and executive activity.

ENDNOTES

1. <http://www.loc.gov/rr/mss/guide/pres.html>.
2. The Presidential Library Act of 1986 mandates that a library association associated with each library provide an endowment to NARA for maintenance (based upon the size of the facility). Congress thereafter appropriates funding to the libraries.
3. http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/finding_aids/whorm/.
4. <http://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/guides/guidewhcf.asp>.
5. http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/library/pres_materials.phtml.
6. The Presidential Records Act (PRA) of 1978 makes defined presidential records created after 1981 subject to Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests.
7. This request is different from a FOIA request in that a FOIA request officially asks the archive to process *unprocessed* documents related to a FOIA request (e.g., Hilary Clinton and public opinion polling), where the declassification process can be done on a case-by-case basis for papers that have *already been processed* but have been restricted from public access due to a sensitive security issue.
8. <http://www.archives.gov/presidential-libraries/faqs/#18>.
9. For instance, at the George H. W. Bush Library, some files in White House Office of Records Management (WHORM) subject file were processed systematically from 1993 to 1998. These are official government files rather than papers donated to the library. Overall, most of the files are not open. Many documents relating to the elections of 1988 and 1992 are closed due to “personal privacy” issues.
10. <http://www.archives.gov/presidential-libraries/faqs/>.

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CHAPTER 7

RUMMAGING
THROUGH THE ATTICS
OF THE CIA AND CONGRESS

HOW ARCHIVAL RESEARCH ENABLED ME TO WRITE
A PREVIOUSLY UNTOLD POLITICAL HISTORY

David M. Barrett

GETTING HOOKED

More than a decade ago, while I was examining the papers of the late senator Richard Russell (D-GA) in order to understand his influence with President Lyndon Johnson on the Vietnam War, I learned that as the chair of the Armed Services Committee and a senior member of the Appropriations Committee, Russell knew more of the Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA) secrets than any other senator during the 1950s and 1960s. Intrigued, I returned to the archive later on to explore the familiar question: What did he know and when did he know it? Further, I wanted to

know if Russell had actually affected the CIA's functioning or if he was a paper tiger.

In many ways, my experience there foreshadowed what I would discover at other archives with congressional papers—there were only scattered documents relating to the CIA. Still, what was there fascinated me: a transcript of a President John F. Kennedy–Russell conversation, calendars showing Russell's meetings with CIA leaders, the occasional handwritten note from Russell to himself about something relating to the CIA, and memoranda from staffers to Russell about the agency. Using these, plus the *Congressional Record* and a few memoirs and histories, I presented a paper on Russell and the CIA at an American Political Science Association meeting and published an article (appropriately titled “Glimpses of a Hidden History”) in an intelligence studies journal (Barrett 1998).

I was hooked, wanting to know, what had Congress done in relation to the Central Intelligence Agency in its early years? The secrecy surrounding the topic made it all the more attractive to me, though I would encounter tremendous frustrations over that governmentally regulated secrecy. I also came to believe (thanks to the work of many scholars) that congressional oversight of executive branch agencies sometimes *mattered* (Ogul 1976). And, I eventually understood something basic: that Congress has a legitimate role to play in relation to the functioning and “dysfunctioning” of government bureaucracies. When Congress looked into a failed U.S. Army battle with an Indian nation early in George Washington's presidency—thus pursuing an early case of congressional oversight—it was exercising its constitutionally implied right to do so. After all, Congress provided the money for military operations, just as it does two centuries later, and it wanted to understand how well or poorly that money had been spent.

By the end of the twentieth century, the very limited literature on Congress and the CIA in the early Cold War era concluded that Capitol Hill had been irresponsibly hands-off in neglecting the agency (Holt

1995). Still, I had the impression from my research at the Russell Library that on occasion, the senator had been inquisitive. His questions had sometimes shaped what CIA leaders (or a president, the agency's boss) did.

My goal became clear: to write a book on congressional oversight of CIA in the early Cold War years. Could such a book be written? I had no idea. One thing I knew for sure, though: it could not be written if it were based mainly on the available published records. It might be made possible by unearthing records of CIA-Congress interactions in the papers of the CIA and the late legislators who had held oversight responsibilities toward the agency.

DIVING IN

Despite the assertion in a few publications that Senator Russell had been *the* congressional overseer of the CIA for a couple of decades, I doubted that this could have been true. I assumed, more or less correctly, that there were archives scattered around the nation holding papers of other deceased legislators—heads of the Senate and House Armed Services and Appropriations Committees—who had interacted with agency heads. I was humbled, though, by the fact that although I had long known the name of Richard B. Russell (who, for better or worse, was a Senate giant on issues including national defense policies and civil rights), I knew nothing about the other powerful legislators on the four committees. Styles Bridges, John Taber, Clarence Cannon, and Millard Tydings?—I had never heard of them.

I gratefully discovered the website “Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present” (<http://bioguide.congress.gov/biosearch/biosearch.asp>), which, among other things, guides researchers to appropriate archives. I also found an equally valuable online bibliography (<http://intellit.muskingum.edu/>), created by J. Ransom Clark, which oriented me toward the substantial literature on intelligence topics. And I read many good, if inevitably incomplete, histories of the Central Intelli-

gence Agency in its early period (e.g., Powers 1979; Ranelagh 1986). The multivolume report of the famous Church Committee of the mid-1970s was also a valuable (if sometimes overly critical) primer on what Congress had done and failed to do regarding the CIA in the early Cold War era (U. S. Senate 1976). Scholars of U.S. intelligence, especially Harry Howe Ransom (1959) and Loch Johnson (1985)—who worked on the staff of the Church Committee—provided me a much-needed education in the functioning of and problems related to the CIA in the post-WWII decades.

Thus, there *was* a good and fairly substantial corpus of literature on the CIA itself, and there were many excellent treatments of Congress in the 1940s through the 1960s by scholars and journalists (e.g., Fenno 1966; White 1957). Still, there was precious little on Congress *and* the Central Intelligence Agency. Beginning to think about research, I learned that the National Archives in Washington, DC, has useful but fragmentary records of committees which interacted with the agency, and National Archives II in College Park, Maryland, has similarly limited but valuable CIA records. Presidential libraries (in my case, primarily the Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy Libraries) have reasonably good records relating to CIA and congressional relations. But I thought that the make-or-break dimension of my research would be what was available or nonexistent in archives with the papers of once-powerful but mostly forgotten and now-deceased legislators.

I quickly learned that some members of Congress had destroyed some or all of their papers. Carl Vinson (D-GA), whose service on Capitol Hill began during the Wilson presidency and who headed the House Armed Services Committee in the early Cold War decades, retired in 1965. His committee had created a highly secretive subcommittee on the CIA that became reasonably assertive in relation to the agency in the late 1950s. Upon retirement, he considered repeated offers from the University of Georgia to house his papers. Reportedly due to concerns about those records revealing secrets that would endanger U.S. national security,

though, Vinson and an associate destroyed all of them (Cook 2004, 330–331).

Until 1963, the office of Gerald Ford (R-MI), who served on the House Appropriations Subcommittee on CIA, destroyed most of its records that were more than a few years old. Ford's reasoning was different from Vinson's: he simply wanted to rid his cramped office of "unnecessary" papers. For reasons I could not discover, some committees had done the same thing: at the National Archives, there are no papers of the House Appropriations Committee from this era. I do not mean there are no papers dealing with the CIA; I mean there are no papers of that era for the Appropriations Committee at all. Meanwhile, the House Armed Services' papers from the 1950s are so limited as to be almost worthless.

Also, as I began visiting archives, it became obvious to me that some legislators, or their staff or heirs, had likely removed (or permitted the CIA to remove) agency-related documents from their collections of hundreds of boxes of documents. Two Appropriations chairs, Clarence Cannon (D-MO) in the House and Carl Hayden (D-AZ) in the Senate, placed their papers in archives, but those collections are of very limited value for studying oversight of the CIA.¹ In Hayden's case, this may be mainly because he monitored the agency so sporadically.

Clarence Cannon was another case entirely. His relationship with the Central Intelligence Agency was different from what the conventional wisdom had been about congressional oversight of intelligence in the early Cold War period. I discovered that the irascible chairman summoned Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) Allen W. Dulles to many a one-on-one session in which Cannon raised critical questions. Similarly, his little Appropriations Subcommittee on CIA kept Cannon's attention across the years, to the distress of agency personnel who were charged with congressional relations. Though Dulles and other DCIs had a certain respect and even affection for Cannon, people such as congressional liaison John Warner (no relation to the subsequent U.S. senator of the same name) frequently voiced exasperation over Cannon's practice of summoning CIA

leaders to secret subcommittee hearings with less than twenty-four hours' notice (Barrett 2005, 116–117, 257–259, 309–310, 316–318, 331–332, 375–376). However, I learned all of this not from Cannon's papers, which barely hinted that he played any role in relation to the agency, but from the Central Intelligence Agency's records at the National Archives.

In contrast, I have often sent my heartfelt thanks to certain late legislators for not having their papers "sanitized." For whatever reason, the papers of Bridges (R-NH), Taber (R-NY), Russell, George Mahon (D-TX), and some others have valuable and sometimes still "classified" records of their interactions with CIA leaders.²

Early on, in my own university's library, and before I understood who Styles Bridges was—a sometime chair of the Senate Appropriations Committee and a "walking 25 votes in the Senate," according to an Eisenhower aide (Whitman Diary)—I came across a finding aid to his papers in New Hampshire (Barrett 2005, 144). Examining it, I saw notations of "Top Secret—CIA budget," and so I had my graduate assistant (who was conveniently heading home to New England) copy everything in that folder and report back to me. She obtained letters and detailed documentation of the CIA's budget, especially for 1955—amounts, categories of spending, places in the Defense Department's budget where CIA accounts were hidden, and so on. Common sense indicates that such information would have been of no use in the early twenty-first century to Saddam Hussein or Osama bin Laden, but the U.S. government absurdly kept (and still keeps) most old agency budgets and innumerable other early Cold War documents secret. This one file folder in Bridges's papers was immensely useful, allowing me to document that Appropriations leaders did know and give direction to how the CIA spent its money. It permitted me to give a fuller, more accurate description than had ever been given in the literature of where CIA resources were being committed in the early to mid-1950s.

Similarly, in Mahon's and Taber's papers, I found handwritten notes of meetings with CIA leaders covering topics ranging from covert action

abroad to the agency's views of an alleged "missile gap," which Democrats in the Eisenhower era spoke of, meaning that the United States seriously lagged behind Soviet missile development.

TWO USES OF DOCUMENTS

What can archives with papers of legislators provide to those researchers with an interest in the functioning and oversight of intelligence agencies? Two things are obvious: (1) the chance to engage in what Clifford Geertz (1973) famously called the "thick description" of human cultures, and (2) of great interest to many political scientists, the opportunity to count.

First, although my experience with archival research has often been frustrating—due to the continuing government secrecy surrounding the CIA's activities many decades ago—those secrecy policies were oftentimes not carried out with neglected papers of deceased legislators. Therefore, I sometimes discovered intelligence-related memoranda between legislators and their staffers. (Also, at National Archives II, I found many CIA memoranda about the agency's legislative liaisons' interactions on Capitol Hill.) This permitted me to add both color and nuance to my descriptions, for example, of a Congress member's anger at the CIA. It is one thing to say that Senator Stuart Symington (D-MO), a big promoter of the "missile gap" thesis, distrusted the agency for the way that it counted Soviet missiles; it is another to be able to quote from a CIA staffer's memo on his encounter with Symington at a barbecue. The senator was furious that Dulles had gone on television and said there was no gap between U.S. and Soviet missile capabilities. Covert action chief Frank Wisner reported to Dulles:

He was extremely annoyed with your having made certain statements on this television program which you had...refused to make to his committee...that you did not believe that the Russians were ahead of us in the field of intercontinental ballistic missile development...

Stuart then launched into a considerable review of the numerous times and occasions on which he has come to the defense of the Central Intelligence Agency. He reminded me of how he had stood up against Senator McCarthy in our defense during and before the McCarthy-Army hearings...and he recited other incidents, all of which are, of course, accurate. He said that he had done these things not merely because of his admiration and friendship for you and certain others in the Agency, but because of his belief that the Central Intelligence Agency was entitled to be treated in a special and separate category. However, if it is the policy of this Agency to engage itself on one side or the other of highly controversial political issues, he would have to revise his views. (Barrett 2005, 246–247)

Second, although I am not a particularly quantitative political scientist, I certainly see the value in counting, especially in the area of legislative studies. In my archival research, I learned that the CIA (created in 1947 by Congress and President Harry S. Truman) had not counted its interactions with Congress until 1958, and then it did so imperfectly. But, by drawing on its records and those of legislators, I was able to come up with an approximate count of different types of encounters, year by year: CIA leaders' appearances at hearings, meetings between directors of central intelligence and individual legislators, and so on.

In a sense, my book is a gigantic test of the hypothesis of Mathew McCubbins and Thomas Schwartz (1984) that the amount and intensity of congressional oversight of executive branch agencies in a given time frame is primarily a function of the political environment. When interest groups, citizens, journalists, or others "set off alarms," Congress then steps up its monitoring of the agency in question.

The counting allowed me to trace the ups and downs of Capitol Hill's oversight of the CIA from 1947 to 1961. I judged that such oversight mostly fit the predictions of McCubbins and Schwartz. For example, in 1955, a relatively sleepy year with few alarms being set off, DCI Allen W.

Dulles testified about ten to twelve times. In 1958, American and international politics were more highly charged following the late-1957 launch of the Soviet's first satellite, the 1958 riots that nearly killed then vice president Richard Nixon and his wife Pat Nixon in Venezuela, and a coup that overthrew a pro-American government of Iraq. These and other events caused citizens and journalists (though not interest groups, because almost none in the 1950s focused on Cold War policies) to prod legislators to ask many questions about alleged failures at the CIA.

The DCI testified more than two dozen times in 1958, sometimes against his will. He complained to his brother, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles (who had a note-taker on another phone) that Senator Russell—who usually was pro-CIA—“would not give him support not to go” before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; on the contrary, Russell “thought AWD should go. AWD does not like to go, but does not know what to do about it” (Barrett 2005, 297–298). Dulles also had frequent private sessions with the few members who were authorized by the Congress to monitor the CIA. Because of my time at the archives, I could give a quantitative portrait of the rise and fall of congressional oversight activity across the 1947 to 1961 time frame while also telling some good stories.

Another easily counted type of interaction is that occurring between legislators and citizens by way of the mail. In the aftermath of the May 1960 Soviet shooting down of an American U-2 spy plane, House Appropriations chairman Cannon detailed and praised the spy flights over the USSR, thereby becoming the first U.S. government official to describe them publicly as a CIA program. His floor speech, given the day before President Dwight D. Eisenhower first spoke to the nation about the event, was widely praised in government and news media circles. Still, a count of his office mail after the speech concretely reminded me that many Americans were appalled by the secrecy and lies surrounding the intelligence-gathering operation. Almost half of the twenty-six citizens writing to Cannon berated him for, as one put it, “the same old unimaginative

display of jingoism” that had blighted so many recent statements from U.S. and Soviet leaders (Barrett 2005, 398).

ADVICE

For those scholars considering doing research for the first time, especially at an archive with the papers of a former member of Congress, I have a few elementary pieces of advice. First, consult the previously mentioned Biographical Dictionary website. Then,

1. Give careful thought to what sort of documentation is sought, and then contact the archive holding the papers that are of interest. Archivists and their assistants are usually warm and helpful. (This may be less true at large archives with overworked staffs.) They will know if a finding aid exists for the legislator’s papers. It may be available online. Use this to create a list of boxes of folders that may be the most fruitful for exploration. Give the archivists at least a few days’ advance notice before arriving; some archives keep less-used collections off-site and have to order their delivery to a researchers’ room. Unfortunately, I traveled to three well-regarded archives in faraway states that somehow failed to have my requested papers available for research on the day that I arrived, despite my advance notice. Therefore, I recommend sending an additional reminder about one’s arrival date and the collection and boxes one wishes to examine on the day before one plans to get there. Also, inquire about photocopying procedures and costs. Almost all archives now permit researchers to use scanners and digital cameras to copy documents. They are real time-savers at the archive, permitting one to maximize the amount of materials that are examined there because the documents can be printed later on, if desired.
2. Make a written note of the archival location of every document that is copied or that notes are taken from. This information will be necessary if the document is cited. Also, keep a list of all of the boxes that were looked at every day at each archive visited. If one decides six months later that it is necessary to return to an archive, it would be helpful to know what has already been inspected.

3. Do not be surprised to initially feel a bit overwhelmed at an archive: one has just arrived, the collection of papers that is of interest is 350 boxes in size, and that finding aid was pretty vague. I can only advise talking to the archivists, asking every imaginable question, and diving in. It will become clear relatively quickly that some boxes are irrelevant to the research topic, and one will move on.
4. Treat the documents with great care. Every decent archive's rules require this, and for good reason. I still have not gotten over my shock at learning that former national security adviser Sandy Berger mistreated, stole, and destroyed certain documents at the National Archives (Leonnig 2005). Senator J. William Fulbright's old book title comes to mind: *The Arrogance of Power*. It is almost unimaginable to me that any serious scholar would do such a thing.
5. Do not be surprised if the archivist says, "The Congressman's papers may not have that information" or "Nobody ever comes to look at Senator Jones's papers." This does not mean that his or her papers will not be valuable. One should go and see for oneself. Almost no one ever examines the papers of the late Senator H. Alexander Smith (R-NJ), but when I did, I came across his wonderful handwritten diary of life in Washington, DC.³
6. What should one do if one finds irregularities in the late Congress member's papers—for example, papers that are stamped "Top Secret" with no other markings indicating that they have been declassified? Due to my research topic, this has happened to me occasionally. In those cases, I made my photocopies and said nothing to the archive. Believe it or not, at a conference panel in which I participated in Washington, DC, in summer 2011, government officials made it clear that they still visit archives with decades-old documents if they learn that such papers were never officially declassified. Their first action upon arrival: pulling the boxes with those papers out of circulation to researchers. Then there is the risk that the process to determine if those papers should be declassified will take not just months but years.

GREAT OPPORTUNITIES

The fact that other scholars rarely look at congressional papers means that a researcher has the opportunity to do highly original research, analysis, and writing. By finding documents in archives, I could demonstrate as fact, not supposition, all sorts of things that were not known before about the Congress and the CIA's history. For example, after the agency carried out extensive, costly, failed anti-Soviet covert operations in eastern Europe in the early 1950s, CIA leaders told a congressional subcommittee just that: the operations had failed (Barrett 2005, 96, 157–158). This counters the widely expressed claim in the literature that the CIA never talked about failures on Capitol Hill and legislators never asked. Also, I learned that subsequent to a pro-Soviet Czech government's ease at putting down an antigovernment protest without causing fatalities in the early 1950s, DCI Allen Dulles privately expressed regret in 1956

that nobody got killed. I'd have felt much better about that, and the Czechoslovakian people would have stood much higher in the world's estimation, if there had been a thousand or ten thousand people killed in that. We kill more people on the roads every day for no purpose. (quoted in Barrett 2005, 212)

Dulles's cold-blooded remark certainly confirmed President Eisenhower's equally private remark about the CIA and Dulles: "Here is one of the most peculiar types of operation...it probably takes a strange kind of genius to run it" (quoted in Barrett 2005, 251). Finally, I discovered that before the agency intervened in Cuba in the infamous Bay of Pigs episode, its leaders ran those plans before at least two congressional subcommittees in the spring of 1961. This and other documents showed that there was considerable congressional pressure on Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy to "do something" about Fidel Castro's Cuba (Barrett 2005, 440–445).⁴

It was obvious to me in going through the papers of the CIA at the National Archives and the papers of late legislators in many different archives that I was not accessing a systematic record of those parts of

the U.S. government; it seemed more akin to having gone through their attics, where, mixed in with lots of junk and ordinary materials, I found sometimes fascinating and important parts of their history that had been forgotten, set aside, or nearly discarded. The papers I found have now been donated to the Richard B. Russell Library at the University of Georgia so that others may examine what I discovered.⁵ And, the book that I was unsure could be written was published, all 540 pages of it, in 2005. It won the D. B. Hardeman award for the best book of the year on Congress. What distinguished the book, the prize selection committee said, was its reliance on wide-ranging archival research.

ENDNOTES

1. The one value of their papers for my research topic is the constituent correspondence. Cannon's papers are at the Western Historical Manuscript Collection, the University of Missouri, and Hayden's are at the Hayden Library, Arizona State University.
2. Bridges's papers are at the New Hampshire State Archives, Taber's are at the Kroch Library at Cornell University, and Mahon's are at the Southwest Collection, Texas Tech University.
3. Smith's papers are at the Mudd Library, Princeton University.
4. I reported one such subcommittee (of the House Armed Services Committee) in the book; subsequent research shows that the CIA also previewed its plans before the CIA subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee.
5. See the "David M. Barrett Research Files," Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia. As of this writing, I have retained documents relating to Cuba policies from 1959 to 1961, which I expect to draw on for a volume devoted entirely to the John F. Kennedy era.

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CHAPTER 8

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE ARCHIVES

Amy Fried

On my way to examine the papers of pollster Elmo Roper at the University of Connecticut, I was equipped with the simple paraphernalia of an archival researcher and a relatively constrained research interest. It was a cold day, wintry still, but with the strengthening sunshine that portends spring. Following a trail from the legendary presidential election of 1948,¹ when Dewey did not defeat Truman, I hoped these papers would help me develop a clearer picture of a time of turmoil. The polling industry took a blow from the 1948 election, yet it recovered and went on to flourish. Perhaps Roper's papers could help me understand how he and his compatriots countered a threat to the legitimacy of the polling enterprise.

In 1948, Roper, along with George Gallup and Archibald Crossley, was one of the premier political pollsters of the day. "The "big three" poll-

sters each got their start not in the field of academic attitude research or in the nineteenth-century journalistic straw poll tradition, but in the world of business. They were first and foremost market researchers, devoted to the science of improving corporate profitability through carefully crafted advertising campaigns and public relations stratagems (Igo 2007, 113). Roper was known to the public through his articles on issue polls in *Forbes* and a Sunday evening CBS radio program. Like the other pollsters, Roper had gained respect when he, in contrast to the *Literary Digest*, had correctly predicted a win for Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1936 election. The *Digest's* poor performance was a strong factor in the publication's demise and the fall of straw polls, as well as concomitant increased support for so-called scientific polling² using sampling methods.

Just twelve years after the *Literary Digest* failure, those scientific pollsters, having predicted a Truman loss for many months, were subject to public derision. Although Gallup had touted polls as a mechanism of democracy, the 1948 breakdown opened the door to critics of polling's use by political decision makers (Fried 2006; Rogers 1949). Some commercial clients were restive and decreased their spending on polls (Converse 1987; Moore 1992). Although all of the pollsters had given incorrect numbers in advance of the election, Roper performed the worst, underestimating Truman's vote by twelve percentage points and overestimating Dewey's by seven (Mosteller et al. 1949, 17). How, then, did Roper and the nascent polling industry survive this threat to the legitimacy of quantitative means of discerning public opinion?

With folders from the Roper papers in front of me, I discovered correspondence from members of the public as well as from academics, businessmen, members of the media, and an investigating committee set by the Social Science Research Council. These papers helped me grasp the size of the early polling community, the relationships among individuals in different sectors, and the importance of preserving and forwarding polls, as seen by varied members of the community. Visits to other archives have

filled out this picture. But my reading of documents did more than build upon an initial interest.

Arguably more importantly, the raw materials of the past encouraged a shift to a new theoretical lens. Though I came to the project concerned with issues about legitimacy and its loss, the correspondence from varied actors prompted me to think about the post-1948 period in terms of networks of polling pioneers. Early pollsters from multiple sectors were entrepreneurial figures who built polling apparatuses and needed to gain and maintain concrete financial support to further their operations. To be sure, social legitimacy was a resource to help them do so, but so were the series of relationships among polling professors. Understanding the 1948 situation provoked a look backwards to see how these relationships were forged and how polling operations were built by diverse organizations. Historical institutionalism thus became the guiding theoretical perspective for this larger research project, suitable because it emphasizes the role of the interplay among ideas, organizations, and institutions in producing changes; the strengths and limits that are inherent in networks of individuals; and the impact of initial decisions involving technologies, policies, and coalitional, institutional, or organizational arrangements on later developments (see Ansell 2006; Lieberman 2002; Orren and Skowronek 2004; Pierson 2000a, 2000b; and Skowronek 1982). My adoption of historical institutionalism grew out of documentary evidence in the Roper papers and guided visits to other archives with collections related to polling and survey research (largely) conducted in the United States during (roughly) the 1930s through the early 1950s.³ Institutional literature focused the analysis and pointed to scholarly approaches and literature for examining certain elements that were important to the development of opinion studies, such as the enhancement of state capacity focused around citizens' views and complex relationships among bureaucrats, policy makers, and communities of color.

Those very same papers from the period have been used in the service of different research questions linked to a largely cultural perspective.

Historian Sarah Igo's self-described study of how surveys were a part of "the making of a mass public" reviewed letters received by Elmo Roper in the wake of the 1948 polling failure.⁴ Although many citizens were critical of polling and skeptical of its representativeness, Igo contended that "many individuals believed they counted in the eyes of the statisticians" (2007, 160–161). For instance, one man was concerned that he was partially at fault for what pollsters had so confidently reported, stating, "I didn't deliberately try to deceive. I changed my mind in the last week of the campaign." Although it was under challenge following this very public fall, polling ultimately became a part of how Americans came to define themselves as "average Americans," their commonalities revealed by the quantitative data that were collected and compiled by experts and those they trained.

More broadly, this particular example suggests that archival research on public opinion serves many overarching purposes. In fact, each scholar's approach can change over time, as mine did. This chapter next discusses the uses of archives, points to specific collections and their use, and considers particular advantages and disadvantages of this research approach.

ARCHIVES AND RESEARCH IN PUBLIC OPINION

One way of characterizing streams of social science research involves comparing interpretive, qualitative research to positivist, quantitative research.⁵ However, archival research can be used in diverse meta-approaches to research and along with differing methodologies. Though archival research is amenable to exploratory, inductive research, it can also be associated with research focused on questions growing out of a conceptual or theoretical scheme, including an approach emphasizing the testing of hypotheses. Traditionally, archival analysis is qualitative, but researchers can use quantitative methods. Furthermore, archival research can be used to address many different questions about public opinion,

involving, among other things, the strategic uses of polls, the development and use of quantitative means of understanding public opinion, and the connection between policy development and polling.

Three public opinion studies, two focused on the presidency and another on congressional leaders, display differing methodological approaches involving archives. Contending that “polling stands at the heart of the modern, candidate-centered presidential campaign, thus making it a fitting proxy for evaluating the presence of a permanent campaign environment in the White House,” Heith (2004, 73) investigated the use of polls in six administrations, starting with President Richard M. Nixon. In conducting this evaluation, Heith reviewed and coded documents preserved in collections of presidential papers. As she explained:

I use the memoranda to produce a distinctive and comparable data set for each administration. Any memorandum, including any White House memo that referenced poll data, contains a few basic ingredients that characterize all memos. All memoranda include the date the memo was sent, the sender of the memo, the receiver of the memo, and the text, or information the memo contained. These essential components reveal much about the employment of public opinion data in the White House. I used these components to code the memoranda from the Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, and Bush archives at the sentence level of analysis for the type of poll data employed and the type of White House activities in which the data was employed. (2004, 10–11)

By extracting information from memoranda, Heith was then able to construct tables demonstrating similarities and differences across presidencies. Most of Heith’s numerical presentations came in the form of tables, charts, or graphs showing percentages (of, for example, which administration offices exchanged polling memos and whether the memos focus on the president’s popularity or several other phenomena). Furthermore, statistical analysis of the interrelationships among variables was also presented. Applying findings from this analysis of polling memos,

Heith concluded that what appear to be campaign-like activities do not interfere with traditional practices of governing.

Like Heith, Eisinger (2003) focused on presidents' use of polls but asked divergent questions and studied a different (although overlapping) set of presidents. Beginning with President Hoover, "the last president not to gauge citizens' views via polls" (Eisinger 2003, 36), this study placed presidents' uses of polls in the context of interinstitutional relations. Congress and the president are often at odds, and at times, this was reflected in views about whether polling was proper at all. For instance, in February 1957, revelations that the State Department contracted to receive polling data that were not shared with Congress provoked discussions about institutions and representation (Eisinger 2003, 48–50). Besides Congress, the media and political parties had historically made claims about their roles in interpreting the public voice, but presidents did not wish to be constrained by those interpretations. Although both Eisinger and Heith worked with archival materials in analytical ways, Eisinger did not translate qualitative information (i.e., documents) into categories that could then be counted or manipulated statistically. Eisinger adopted a traditional approach to archival documents as a means of understanding events, individuals, offices, and contextually based interactions. Through these means, Eisinger drew conclusions about what administrations sought to accomplish in their quests for relatively autonomous assessments of the public.

A third methodological approach is illustrated by Harris's research program concerning congressional uses of polls, which can be tracked across a set of journal articles (see Harris 1998, 2005; Fried and Harris 2010). Harris has analyzed how the adoption of polls by congressional leaders to shape policy agendas and their presentation was affected by changing understandings of legislators' democratic roles and shifts in institutional contexts and strategic situations. With presidents and media outlets able to gather their own polling data, congressional leaders began to seek out their own sources of knowledge about national public opinion,

not the views of particular subnational constituencies. Evidence from archival materials as well as interviews with congressional leaders and staff members were used to support arguments about these dynamics. For instance, in a discussion about how the monitoring of public opinion informed agenda development, Harris (2005) drew from a memo from Kirk O'Donnell to Speaker O'Neill stating, "If Peter Hart is right...then the Democratic agenda from here on out is clear" (143), as well as from an interview he conducted with a Democratic aide who pointed to polling as a limit on legislative action. Buttressing documentary findings about the place of polling within congressional leadership circles, a Democratic aide from the 1970s and 1980s recalled, "If we had sobering polls...someone would say, 'We can't ask our members to do this.... Sometimes that's why you'd pull it back [not schedule the legislation].'" This combination of methods can be highly beneficial. Interviews add detail and texture to what can be found from documents and help to establish narrative and motives. To be sure, interviews are not always possible if one's research is placed further back in time or if participants will not consent to be queried. Furthermore, using archival materials in addition to interviews prevents too much of a reliance on individuals who have political concerns and interests in mind when they speak about internal congressional matters. Documents provide contemporaneous context to reconstructed memories and personal accounts.

Although I have noted differing research questions explored by Heith, Eisinger, and Harris, each fits into a broad orientation which I call the historical turn in public opinion research. Although most scholarly work on public opinion in political science involves the quantitative analysis of poll data, various archival researchers have focused on political developments and change processes, encompassing research on (1) the place of polling in governing, (2) the shape and impact of public communications for particular policy or political matters, and (3) the rise of polling and survey research. Archival materials relevant to this approach include a wide array of documents, such as summaries of particular polls; public responses such as letters and phone logs summarizing calls;

memos regarding polls and poll use; planning documents and debates regarding what to ask when conducting a poll; correspondence between opinion researchers or between them and politicians, journalists, funders, or people in the business world; and information such as personnel records, proposals to carry out projects, organizational charts, bills, and invoices, which show how polling operations were organized and funded.

Research on polling in governing has included work involving archives (such as that of Heith, Eisinger, and Harris) and some which has not.⁶ One important question has been the ways that elected officials and government administrators respond to polling data and employ it strategically. An account that placed this dynamic into a broader historical context argued:

Gathering data by way of polls served a variety of strategic purposes for a burgeoning American state, such as designing more effective policies, preventing resistance by the public to federal intervention that affected local and traditional practices, and shaping presidential rhetoric aimed at persuasion...[T]he later adoption of polls by Congress was part of a shift toward plebiscitary politics that, like the rise of administrative politics, had its roots in the Progressive movement. (Fried and Harris 2010, 323)

Furthermore, in a series of works, Jacobs and Shapiro (1994, 1995, 2000) have used archival research along with other methods to address the strategic uses of public opinion in various policy debates as well as the development of public opinion infrastructures. Opinion data are used by presidents and legislators to determine how to frame arguments to best promote their policy preferences and political ambitions.

In going to the archives, some public opinion researchers have looked to communications from the public itself. Congressional and presidential collections may include letters from constituents, and these have been used to explore a number of important questions. Lee (2002) used letters from the time of the civil rights struggle to address the claim that elites, not citizens, are the predominant influence on public opinion.⁷ Lee coded letters for demographic data and themes and used selections to present and

discuss what these letter writers cared about and thought. This approach provides richness to the understanding of public opinion on civil rights, effectively demonstrates the ability of citizens to find their own ways of discerning political events, and enables a comparison of the ways different groups of people approached and framed the issues at hand. In a similar vein, historian David Thelen reviewed letters “from five thousand Americans to Congressman Lee Hamilton and the House Select Committee on the Iran-Contra investigation that he chaired” (1996, 14). These citizens’ views challenged the media discourse about events and about what the public thought and demonstrated sophisticated visions of democracy, heroism, and patriotism. Rottinghaus (2006) studied letters from the public to various White Houses. Unlike Lee and Thelen, Rottinghaus focused on the development of systems and apparatuses in the administrations rather than the substance of citizens’ concerns. Using opinion mail summaries compiled weekly by the administrations of Presidents Dwight Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, and Richard Nixon (and which can be found in these presidential archives), Rottinghaus showed an upward trend of mail and a migration of interest in citizen mail from political entities outside of the presidency to within the White House.

A third strand of the historical turn in public opinion research has focused on the rise of polling and survey research, in particular how and why it occurred. Archival research by Igo (2007), as well as nonarchival scholarly work by Herbst (1993), has emphasized the cultural and ideological elements of the shift to quantitative means of understanding public opinion. Herbst has argued that polling’s adoption was enhanced by the power of Weberian rationality, a construct which emphasizes scientific means of grasping conditions of the world, as well as by the desire of rational political actors to employ public opinion to further political strategies and goals. With three case studies,⁸ Igo has pointed to the rise of the idea of the “average American,” defined in large part by quantitative opinion data. Jean Converse’s comprehensive study of the rise of survey research (1987) relied on a mix of methods, including research in the archives of several survey research centers, and provides an invaluable

look at the organizational and administrative efforts that were required to give rise to and sustain these entities and the professional associations and links which have provided professional support. Archival research in this area has also demonstrated the personal and professional complexities that are inherent in any nascent endeavor, whether that involved gaining a home and financing for a new research center or working with sometimes difficult colleagues.⁹

Another sort of interest in the history of public opinion could be called forensic survey analysis. This approach uses polls and surveys from the past, as well as contemporaneous analyses, to explore and explain past public opinion as well as technical issues linked to the development of quantitative opinion research. Work in the latter category includes studies about the failed *Literary Digest* straw poll of 1936 which, as mentioned earlier, launched the reputations of pollsters Gallup, Roper, and Crossley. In 1936, Franklin D. Roosevelt won nearly 61 percent of the vote and carried all states but two, although the *Digest* wrongly predicted that Alf Landon would win with 57 percent to Roosevelt's 43 percent. Ten million ballots were sent out and more than 2 million people completed and sent back postcards to the *Literary Digest*. In Chicago, about one-third of all potential voters responded, as well as half of the registered voters in Scranton, Pennsylvania (Squire 1988). A common explanation is that the *Literary Digest* got it wrong because its sample was flawed, drawn largely from phone books and lists of automobile owners. But the poll also failed because it relied on people to decide for themselves whether to respond, and the people who decided to send the ballot back were not representative of the population. As statistician Bryson pointed out, "even in the depths of the depression, phones were not all that unusual" (1976, 184), and the size of the error cannot be explained by this factor. With only one-quarter of the people who received the ballot responding—or what would be considered a low response rate today—those who displayed the motivation to reply may have been those who were most dismayed with the incumbent. And, even if these problems had not existed, the *Digest* poll kept a running total of responses by area, adding new numbers to old ones

rather than reporting the results for discrete periods of time. By aggregating numbers, the *Digest* neglected the possibility that opinions might shift during the course of the campaign.

Responding to Squire's (1988) analysis of problems with the straw poll, Cahalan (1989) brought forward relevant data from his 1938 MA thesis. In addition to having used more easily available national data from a 1937 Gallup survey, Cahalan "also conducted a probability sample telephone survey of persons on the *Digest*'s mailing list in a medium-sized city in Iowa within three months after the 1936 election" (1989, 129). Cahalan noted:

Ironically, the thesis has reposed for these 50 years in the University of Iowa Psychology Department library, located within easy walking distance from Squire's own office. The findings were also summarized in a *Psychological Record* article the following year... However, Squire's not being aware of this research is understandable because I don't think my findings were ever cited elsewhere. At that time [*Public Opinion Quarterly*] was just getting started and neither [the American Association for Public Opinion Research] or other mechanisms for dissemination of information on survey methodology yet existed. Also, the handful of pioneers engaged in research in those depression days were too concerned about keeping their own organizations alive to afford the luxury of the further flogging of what they considered to be a rather dead horse. (129)

Beyond the particularities with the *Literary Digest*'s straw poll, it seems certain that there have been myriad state and local polls conducted in the past which may have much to offer researchers but which are not generally accessible and are tucked away in archives and libraries. Although national surveys and polls can be found more easily, their analysis is not straightforward by any means. Although they avoided the difficulties inherent in straw polls, opinion researchers in the 1930s and 1940s used problematic methods of sampling. Today's opinion researchers use probability samples, in contrast to the quota sampling of the past, with discretion

left to fieldworkers about how to select individuals to fill demographic quotas. Because the choices were open to the interviewers, they were able to decide to question people in houses that were relatively well-kept and individuals who seemed more accessible and approachable, thus introducing a decidedly nonrandom element to the sample. With each interviewer making individual decisions of this sort, biases related to such choices could be embedded in the aggregate data. Furthermore, Gallup sought samples that would be representative of voters, not citizens as a whole.

Women, southerners, and blacks voted at low rates in the 1930s and 1940s. These groups were therefore deliberately underrepresented in the Gallup samples. For instance, from the mid-1930s through the mid-1940s, Gallup designed his samples to be 65 to 70 percent male. (Berinsky 2006, 506)¹⁰

Although using data from this period would be helpful to understand shifts in the mass public, the data need to undergo statistical transformations to become more valid and reliable.¹¹

COLLECTIONS FOR ARCHIVAL RESEARCH ON PUBLIC OPINION

Given the range of questions and possible foci involving public opinion, there is consequently a great diversity of potential archival sources. Those interested in issues growing out of the historical turn in public opinion research might use multiple collections, which could include the papers of presidents, federal agencies, members of Congress, organizations, and foundations. Elsewhere in this volume (chapter 5), Rottinghaus discusses the location, organization, and use of presidential papers. As I have already discussed, political scientists have given these attention in their public opinion research. Still, there is always more that can be done with these collections, both because they are so extensive and because a researcher may focus on a specific policy issue, a period in one or more presidencies

(such as the first year in office), or the relationships between a presidential administration and the media or specific agencies, groups, or individuals.

In researching public opinion issues related to one or more presidents, researchers can go beyond the papers in presidential collections. Presidential collections include papers from some people associated with the administration, but others' papers are in archives elsewhere. Though the researcher can use a good Internet search engine to locate paper collections of people he or she has identified as important to a president's efforts, archivists may have already provided guides for scholars. For instance, the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library provides a guide to "FDR collections at other repositories," which lists 173 people and the appropriate web-based sources of information about particular archival holdings.¹² A good many of these paper collections can be found in Washington, DC, at the Library of Congress; however, others are scattered across the United States at various universities and libraries. And, although most individuals' papers are in one location (or at least one city), others are divided between several places. For example, the papers of Bernard Baruch, a member of Roosevelt's Brain Trust, are available at Princeton University and the Library of Congress.

Because members of the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate have often taken an interest in public opinion and its measurement by polls, archival holdings related to individual members of Congress can be used to further certain research projects. Papers of individual members of Congress tend to be located in their home states, and finding them can take a certain degree of effort. The National Archives includes the Center for Legislative Archives, which maintains a list of congressional collections around the nation.¹³ The center and other archives recommend two print sources on such holdings, *Guide to Research Collections of Former Members of the United States House of Representatives, 1789–1987* and *Guide to Research Collections of Former United States Senators, 1789–1995*. Information about U.S. legislators can be found in the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*. The Senate Histor-

ical Office, which should be consulted when researching a senator and historical aspects of the Senate,¹⁴ notes that

the origins of the *Biographical Directory* go back to 1859, when Charles Lanman, an author and former secretary to Daniel Webster, assembled the first collection of biographies of former and sitting Members for his Dictionary of Congress. With the creation of the Senate Historical Office in 1975 and the House Office of the Bicentennial in 1983, professional historians assumed responsibility for revising and updating the Directory. The results of their efforts appeared in the bicentennial edition of the Biographical Directory, which appeared in 1989. Since November 1998, the print edition of the *Biographical Directory* has been complemented and enhanced by an online database that is frequently updated.¹⁵

Political Graveyard (<http://politicalgraveyard.com/>), which was developed and is maintained by a private individual, Lawrence Kestenbaum, the county clerk and registrar of deeds for Washtenaw County, Michigan, is an extremely useful guide to information about federal, state, and local governmental officials.

It was through some of these sources that I was able to find the location of the papers of Representative Walter M. Pierce (1861–1954), a former governor of Oregon who served in the House of Representatives from 1933 through 1942.¹⁶ Pierce was of interest to me because he was a harsh critic of straw polling and the polls which replaced them and he sought to regulate and limit them. A variety of publications in the 1930s, ranging from newspapers to *Public Opinion Quarterly*, took account of his criticisms. Pierce's papers are housed in the Special Collections of the University of Oregon Libraries in Eugene, which has an excellent finding aid online. Using this delineation of the collection, I identified relevant files and ordered copies of the documents in them. Being able to have documents copied by the archivist and mailed to me, without me having to visit the collection, saved considerable money. Though the copies were more expensive than they would have been if I were at the archive, there were no travel costs. Of course, it is possible that I missed

some papers that would have been helpful, but my confidence in being able to gather essential items was supported by the archive's clear identification of files on public opinion as a topic area as well as on the legislation to restrict polls that Pierce offered. It was buttressed by the variety of materials that were forwarded to me, ranging from clippings to notes on meetings with administrative officials and other legislators to correspondence from citizens, scholars, and pollsters. This investigation also benefited from archival materials that were available through the Center for Legislative Archives. In February 1935, Pierce introduced H.R. 5728, a bill that would bar straw polls from the U.S. mails, whether in a "letter, writing, circular, postal card, picture, print, engraving, photograph, newspaper, pamphlet, book, or other publication, matter, or thing." Through the Center for Legislative Archives,¹⁷ I obtained (again, upon request to the archivist and with receipt by mail) relevant correspondence between the chair of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads and James A. Farley, the postmaster general. This example points to the availability and means of accessing archival materials on congressional matters and public opinion, even for a relatively unknown House member. Legislative leaders' papers are more extensive, and their interpretation is assisted by a larger amount of related historical materials, including oral histories about their work in leadership and on particular policies.

In investigating the uses of public opinion data in policy development and implementation, scholars may wish to turn to archival materials from federal agencies. The National Archives is responsible for maintaining these collections, and it provides the finding aids for many of them online. Relatively few papers have been digitized, and researchers must often visit the appropriate center to read, copy, and take notes on the materials they need. It is also possible to order specific papers and receive these by mail or to hire a researcher to work through the files and provide documents. The National Archives maintains a list of private researchers by geographic location, subject area, and media type.¹⁸

Because survey research has been supported by foundations and because people who conducted and oversaw opinion research have founded and worked with various organizations, some scholars may wish to investigate the archives maintained by these kinds of groups. As I have been interested in the relationships between scholars Paul Lazarsfeld and Hadley Cantril and their work on radio audiences, and some of this work received foundation support, I visited the Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC) in Sleepy Hollow, New York. The RAC has relevant papers from a number of organizations, including the Social Science Research Council, the Russell Sage Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation.¹⁹ Archival materials generated by a major political party are sometimes housed with presidential papers from that period. Other organizations' papers, if they are archived, can also be useful for scholarly research on the development and use of public opinion.

A number of archives maintain oral history collections, which can be extremely useful in understanding how public opinion data have been gathered and used. In studying the development of polling and survey research, Columbia University's oral histories are an excellent resource because they include interviews with, among others, pollster George Gallup, media researcher (and later president of CBS) Frank Stanton, Social Science Research Council president Pendleton Herring, and scholar Paul Lazarsfeld. Furthermore, multiple oral histories were conducted as a part of broader projects on particular endeavors and individuals, such as the Hollywood film industry, radio pioneers, black journalists, Social Security and Medicare, and the Eisenhower administration. Although many of these oral histories can be read only in the Oral History Research Office in the Butler Library on the Columbia University campus, others can be ordered on microfiche and some are available online.

Governmental officials' collections often include oral histories from people who were involved in their work, including those with an interest in public opinion. Because of the ability to remotely search and access them, those in the Truman Library are highly accessible and usable. For

instance, knowing that scholar Hadley Cantril had been a source of poll data in Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration, I searched for his name at the Truman Library's website and found several oral histories, including one with John S. Dickey, who held various positions in the Roosevelt and Truman State Departments.²⁰ His interviewer, Richard McKinzie, explored the use of polls prior to the 1945 United Nations Charter conference in San Francisco. These were "opinion polls which the Department had made through Hadley Cantril and some other people," and McKinzie asked, "It's a matter of judgment, of course, but how seriously were opinion polls taken then and by whom?" Dickey replied:

Well, this is a fair question, because they were not taken seriously, in my opinion, widely in the Department. The value of polling at that point was still somewhat arguable, much more so than it is today. Today, it's accepted as a useful tool of politics and the social sciences—if well done, it is valuable, even essential. And we were carrying it on undercover. We were using, of course, all the public polls of Gallup and so forth, but we also were using the confidential funds of the Secretary's office to compensate Lloyd Free and Hadley Cantril, two academic polling pros, and Jerry [Jerome S.] Bruner, to work with us. Bruner subsequently became widely regarded as a psychologist at Harvard. Those are the three who worked with us, formulating questions, etc....These were very sophisticated, competent people. Particularly, we were using the polls to find out the level of information of American public opinion during the war and on post-war planning and the areas of ignorance, in order to help us develop more effective public information programs. We wanted to know what needed attention in a speech by the Secretary or others, or in Department publications. In our polls we were running some basic, continuing questions. For example, do you believe that we can trust the Russians in the future and in postwar organization planning? We would compare the findings, asking the same question about every three months, keying the questions to events and comparatively to other nations. I think the polls were taken very seriously by those of us who were

working on them in the public information work—in other words, to guide our public information activities.

As Dickey's interview indicates, public opinion polls were used to guide not policy but rather its presentation. Relying on the work of academics to craft the wording of poll questions and potential responses, polls were a tool for understanding and trying to understand public views and their dynamics and went into the mix along with weekly reports on editorials and news reports. But, said Dickey,

I don't think they were taken too seriously by the Secretary, the Foreign Service officers, and others. If they happened to coincide with what they thought was public opinion, oh, then they would cite them to the Congressmen and to others.

Dickey's comments are consistent with how a number of scholars in the past few decades have seen polling used. Further research with oral histories and archival collections can define the various ways polls were used, by whom, and with what policy and political effects.

Political scientists engaging in forensic survey analysis must look to various collections of survey data. The Roper Center's Public Opinion Archives has the greatest variety of polls over the longest period of time. For example, it houses nearly 150 polls with data collected between 1935 and 1940. Full access to data sets is available to member institutions, and scholars elsewhere can purchase specific data sets. The American National Election Studies and the National Opinion Research Center house other important collections of survey data. Researchers should contact these organizations for information about obtaining these data.

USING ARCHIVES

Archival research often feels like being a part of a treasure hunt. Even with a plan, one never knows what one will find, and there are periods of

elation and drudgery, yet it is essential to be prepared and stay focused. Based on my experiences, I can offer these tips.

First, arrive at the archive as prepared as possible. At a minimum, know whether the collection to be investigated is on-site or will have to be retrieved from another location. If the latter, the archivist will probably need at least several days' notice of one's visit. Some archives require that a researcher inform them of a visit and reserve space ahead of time. Even if a reservation is not required, I have made it a practice to e-mail the archivists to introduce myself and my research project. Contacting them generates a contact at the archive whom I can call upon when I am there and after my visit, and it gives me a sense of comfort that they and I are prepared for my visit and my time and the expenses of the trip will be well spent. In many cases, there are excellent finding aids online which can be used to prepare a preliminary list of the boxes and files one will want to search. Of course, being physically at the archive may reveal other materials for examination. Another element of preparation is to have done as much background reading as possible in order to develop an initial understanding of the broader context of particular documents as well as the role and significance of specific individuals or organizations.

Second, make sure to develop a system for keeping track of findings and specific documents. Each archive has its own methods and rules for reading and copying documents. These can be extremely picky, such that in one archive slips of paper inserted before a document to be copied must be placed so that they stick out of the top of a file, whereas in another place they must be placed sideways. Although these practices are arbitrary, it is imperative to use each archive's system, both to preserve a good working relationship with their staff and to make sure that one will be able to get the copies one wants. Some places will allow researchers to copy some documents (and this can vary depending on their length), whereas others do all of the copying themselves. Further, researchers may be able to photograph or scan documents, thus saving the cost of copying as well as the time of filling out copy order paperwork. If photographing or scanning

documents is a part of the plan, make sure this is an acceptable practice beforehand and save the pictures as soon as possible to different media as well as to a web-based photo service.

Third, when looking for something specific, keep in mind that creativity and persistence are necessary—and even then the item may not be located. At one point, I was looking for a report that was referenced by an early opinion research leader and an individual who worked for him, which both used as an example of why the U.S. government should study public views.²¹ Many of the local people were biracial, both African American and Native American, or what whites derogatorily called “redbones.” Fires were being set in Kisatchie National Park in Louisiana and officials wanted to stop them. Although I looked assiduously in the National Archives in College Park, Maryland, the finding aids for the appropriate agencies were not detailed, and despite pulling many boxes and looking in many files, I could not locate the study. But I did not want to give up the hunt. Back in my home office, I went to the Kisatchie National Forest’s website, found contact information for the Forest Heritage and Tribal Program manager, and wrote, asking if she could possibly help me. I received not only a copy of the report but also a photocopy of an out-of-print book about the history of Kisatchie.

Fourth, after returning home, one should make sure to update one’s filing or notation system. When working on the book *Pathways to Polling*, I created files for documents and notes organized around each planned chapter. The system also includes a master document that states which documents (or groups of documents) are in each file. These allow for their (relatively) easy retrieval for the writing process. Make sure to take time after each visit or after receiving documents by mail to incorporate them into the working files and system.

Fifth, one’s approach should combine a certain obsessiveness about details with an openness to new discoveries. Let the obsessive self loose when it comes to keeping track of documents. Be sure to find out the archives’ preferred citation method and make sure this information has

been included with whatever system is being used to take notes and track copied (or photographed) documents. The same applies for documents that notes have been taken on but that have not been copied. In addition, keep a file on whether permission will be required to quote from or cite documents from each archive and collection. To make sure I am gaining as much as I can from my investigations, I regularly consider what these documents imply about the broader research questions I am exploring. Depending on what I am finding, my initial focus and working hypotheses may need to be modified or shifted. (Other researchers might not find this useful, particularly if they are coding all documents across archives and collections according to common categories.) At various intervals, I have made it a practice to jot down some notes about what I have found. This enables me to capture insights and to identify particular documents which elucidate particular dynamics.

Finally, one should make sure to count historians among one's friends, or at least close colleagues. They have considerable experience in working with archival materials and can be wonderful sources of support and concrete assistance.

ARCHIVAL CHALLENGES AND POSSIBILITIES

Comprehending the past requires documents generated by others for different purposes and using different tools than the scholars who study them. For scholars whose work is part of the historical turn in public opinion research, archival investigations are essential for understanding and explaining internal decision making, intraorganizational processes, and interactions among institutions, organizations, and political actors. Researchers who are interested in forensic survey research engage in sophisticated methodological transformations of quantitative data. Whatever the approach, recovering and interpreting the past is always fraught with difficulties. As historians and others note, archives preserve particular documents that reflect certain vantage points. Furthermore, decisions

about what is kept and how documents are organized reflect constructed structures of knowledge and power. Although there is not room in this chapter to explore these meta-issues, it is worth noting a set of discussions regarding the connection between what is found in archives and the ability to develop rational, well-grounded arguments about the past.²²

These larger concerns should provoke archival researchers to be self-aware of the challenges and possibilities related to their sources and methods.²³ Take, for example, documents about polling that can be found in many presidential libraries' collections. Without a doubt, polling memos and reports are a treasure trove of information, illuminating the development of presidential messages and policies. These documents were not created for public consumption, and administration officials, given the desire to appear untethered from polling, did not want their internal strategizing to be publicized. However, their apparent status as promoting the unified view of the administration is open to question. Scholars could do more in discerning political conflicts within the administration regarding priorities and approaches. Presidential administrations contain internal schisms and alliances, and internal discussions of polls may reflect these divisions. Political uses of polls are affected by preexisting policy commitments, themselves rooted in political interests, coalitions of supporters, and the desires to signal to key public constituencies and to "sell" particular policies.²⁴ To be sure, the actual mix of documents contained in a particular presidential archive may or may not lend itself to this sort of analysis. But, in any case, exploring these dynamics requires an examination of documents while keeping in mind a mix of internal and external political dynamics.

Further, no matter what analytical scheme is used in investigating documentary materials, archival research is but a part of a well-developed and theoretically oriented investigation. As with any scholarly effort, the materials that are considered by archival researchers can change over time and can come to include additional data, even as the analysis should be focused and rigorous. Researchers must establish relevant contexts for interpreting

what they find in the boxes of files, including such items as economic data, congressional hearings, election results, and information about social groups. Political scientists trying to understand the place of public opinion in politics who turn to archives to do so face a complex but worthwhile task.

ENDNOTES

1. See Karabell 2000 for an excellent account of the 1948 presidential election, the political and coalitional complexities which gave rise to four significant candidates, and its aftermath.
2. This term was used by political scientist and survey research pioneer Hadley Cantril. See Hadley Cantril, "The Bombardment of Ballots," *The New York Times*, June 14, 1926, SM6, and Hadley Cantril, "Straw Votes This Year Show Contrary Winds," *The New York Times*, October 25, 1936, E3.
3. These have included visits to the Rockefeller Archive Center for papers of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Social Science Research Council, the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library for papers from multiple collections involving polling, the University of Chicago Library Special Collections Research Center (to read papers by, among others, Ernest Burgess and Philip Hauser), the National Archives in College Park, Maryland (to read papers from the Department of Agriculture and the Office of War Information), and Columbia University's Rare Books and Manuscript Library (to read a variety of oral histories and collected papers, including those of scholars Paul Lazarsfeld and Lindsay Rogers). I have also used materials from the Truman Library, the Center for Legislative Archives, and the collected papers of Congressman Walter Pierce of Oregon from the Special Collections & University Archives of the University of Oregon Libraries.
4. See Igo 2007, chapter 4.
5. Political scientists who use qualitative methods frequently do so in the service of interpretive social science, which focuses on subjective understandings. Although interpretivist researchers begin with research questions and categories, these are open to modification as research proceeds. Sociologists Glaser and Strauss (1967) argued on behalf of "grounded theory," which arises from and is grounded in research discoveries. Participant observation, intensive interviews, focus groups, and Q-sorts are methods commonly associated with this approach in political science. In contrast, since the rise of the behavioral revolution in political science (Somit and Tanenhaus 1967), many scholars of politics have oriented themselves around a template borrowed from the physical sciences. Researchers in this tradition develop hypotheses rooted in a conceptual

or theoretical framework, craft indicators related to concepts and variables related to the broader framework, and then test those hypotheses. This positivist model operates with deductive reasoning and can provide powerful explanations backed by statistical analyses, but it can fall prey to problems related to using data that are not consonant with key concepts, a lack of attention to subjects' points of view, and difficulties in capturing historical contexts and processes.

6. For instance, I have argued that perceived public opinion is a political resource and examined legislators' responsiveness to constructed public opinion in various situations, particularly the Iran-contra hearings of 1988 (see Fried 1997).
7. The analysis is based on a "sample of 6,765 letters written to the president concerning civil rights and racial equality between 1948 and 1965" (Lee 2002, 14).
8. These include the impact of and public response to the Middletown studies by Robert and Helen Lynd; the pollsters, particularly after the 1948 presidential race; and Alfred Kinsey's studies of human sexuality.
9. See Converse 1987. Paul Lazarsfeld, an Austrian expatriate, was an important figure in early survey research who appeared to have had some problems with collegiality, some due to his temperament and some generated because of cultural differences and a certain anti-Semitism. See Stanton 1991; Lazarsfeld 1982, 37–38; and Letter, April 27, 1934, from John V. Van Sickle, program officer, Rockefeller Foundation to Robert Lynd, Department of Sociology, Columbia University, in the Paul Felix Lazarsfeld Papers; series 1, box 27, folder Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship 1, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library. Van Sickle wrote to thank Lynd for his letter regarding a renewal of Lazarsfeld's fellowship and noted, "Your judgment of Lazarsfeld seemed to me excellent save on the one point of his appearance. It is some years since I have seen him but my recollection is that he definitely bears the mark of his race."
10. See also Robinson 1999 and Igo 2007 on the consumerist view implied by Gallup's polling.
11. Berinsky noted that data from the 1930s and 1940s "are extremely difficult to work with. Most of these surveys have not been touched for almost 60 years, and as a result, the data sets are not easily usable" (2006, 500). He provided a weighting method to correct problems with these data. See also Rubin 1956 on the possibility of reweighting data taken from straw polls, another example of a "defective sample."

12. For more, see <http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/archives/resources/repositories.html>.
13. See <http://www.archives.gov/legislative/repository-collections/>.
14. For more, see http://senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/Senate_Historical_Office.htm. In addition to providing information about particular senators and their collected papers, the office has developed oral histories and historical essays, statistics about the Senate, and collections of photographs and art. The historian of the House of Representatives has some, but fewer, materials online. See <http://historian.house.gov/>.
15. Via <http://bioguide.congress.gov/biosearch/biosearch.asp>, one can locate information about House members and senators and see lists of research collections.
16. These sources also pointed me to a very useful doctoral dissertation about Representative Pierce as well as several other writings about him.
17. Regarding the records of the House of Representatives, the Center for Legislative Archives notes, "Before their transfer to the National Archives most records of Congress had been housed in the offices, attics, basements, and storage rooms of the Capitol. They had suffered from neglect, vermin, and pilferage, abuses common to most collections of older Government records housed in unsuitable and unsupervised storage areas." At this time, records are considerably safer. Although some have been digitized and therefore can be accessed relatively easily, adequate funds have not been allocated to complete this process. However, I have found the staff to be exceedingly helpful and worth consulting. See also <http://www.archives.gov/legislative/guide/house/chapter-01-research-strategies.html> regarding strategies for researching congressional records and collections.
18. See <http://www.archives.gov/research/hire-help/>.
19. As an aside, the building has high-quality art on the walls downstairs, as well as colloquia with researchers and a nicely equipped kitchen where one can take one's lunch and make tea. Scholars peruse these materials on the second floor of the facility. Down a small hill from the archive is a church with Chagall windows purchased by the Rockefeller family. Space in the archive is limited and must be reserved beforehand. The Rockefeller Archive Center has an annual grant competition for grants up to \$5,000.
20. The interview was conducted in Boston on July 19, 1974, and is available at <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/oralhist/dickeyjs.htm>.
21. Likert 1948; Skott 1943. Also see my discussion of the study and the incident that provoked it (Fried 2012, chapter 3).

22. See Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob 1994; Burton 2005; Foucault 1982.
23. Challenges relating to forensic survey research include methodological issues about how to correct data that today are considered to be of low quality because of the sampling approaches that were used. In addition, as with all polls, there may be issues with the construction of the survey instrument, particularly question wording. Finally, there are many state and local polls that have been largely overlooked but deserve attention.
24. See Fried and Harris 2010; Jacobs and Shapiro 2000.

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CHAPTER 9

DIGGING THROUGH TRASH

FINDING WHAT YOU NEED IN MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES

*Kathleen Sullivan and
Patricia Strach*

As American cities grew in the second half of the nineteenth century, so did their problems: fires consumed crowded housing, disease spread through dirty water, and trash filled the streets. The banks of the Mississippi River in New Orleans, for example, were “made a common receptacle of, and reeking with garbage and filth of all kinds” (Sanitary Commission of New Orleans 1854, 390), leading some observers to proclaim it “the filthiest hole in the land” (Humphreys 1999, 54). The old practices that worked for rural communities (burying garbage in the yard or feeding it to pigs) no longer worked in America’s burgeoning municipalities. Though it was altogether clear that somebody had to do something to make cities habitable, it was not at all certain who (government, private actors, civic entities) or how (by what authority and with what resources).

Nineteenth-century municipalities afford scholars the opportunity to see how fundamental problems—clean air, water, streets, and homes—that must be addressed become government problems; how governments

muster the authority to take care of them; how governments negotiate the resources they will need to do so; and how they build capacity in administrative structures. In describing the processes by which municipal governments across the country take on new problems, we have found that they do so in different ways. But, if the problems are largely similar (dirty water, air, and streets), then variation in the solutions raises the causal question, *Why?*

The answers, it turns out, cannot be gleaned from quantitative data, official ordinances, or secondary sources alone. Instead, they require trips to municipal archives around the country to recreate the politics of the time, the decisions of key leaders, the availability of resources, and the paths and options that were not chosen. We illustrate the questions researchers can ask, the answers they can construct, and the broader political generalizations that can be made through our own research in nineteenth-century garbage collection. In this chapter, we show that municipal archives offer an important lens to study questions of politics and governance.

Even a seemingly straightforward task such as garbage collection requires an administrative authority and capacity that many cities were still struggling to develop in the nineteenth century. Picking up garbage entailed finding and employing carts, horses, drivers, collectors, and receptacles. Households and businesses needed to learn what they had to do and then comply by putting the garbage out at the appointed time in appropriate receptacles for efficient collection. Once it was collected, the garbage needed to go somewhere where it could be processed—dumped in a designated lot, incinerated, reduced, shipped out to sea or a river, fed to swine—without producing a new health hazard for the citizenry.

Providing for garbage pickup and disposal was not sufficient; a city also needed to ensure local compliance and enforcement. In New Orleans, cart drivers were using kitchen garbage and dead animals to fill the streets, inviting hogs to tear the streets apart to recover them (“Streets Filled with Waste” 1878). In Pittsburgh, even though the garbage ordinance had been in operation for decades, officials found that “suitable garbage cans with

covers are frequently lacking in the houses.”¹ Health officials in nearby Allegheny noted that animal, vegetable, and fecal waste lay outside houses “until the arrival of the cart or open wagon in which it is to be loaded and taken over its route, giving off its vile smell until the place of dumping is reached.”² Despite measures to cover cans and carts, travelers to Pittsburgh took note that the stench from an uncovered garbage wagon was so great that “it nauseated the passengers when the car was still half a block away.”³ To solve public problems, cities need authority, capacity, and the power of enforcement.

Although garbage is not a central object of study in political science, it does address fundamental issues of governing. Like other seemingly mundane local government concerns—water, sewers, streets, buildings, and nuisances—garbage collection is essential to communities and represents the majority of what governments in America actually do. Further, looking at local governments adds a comparative perspective speaking to broader questions about how governments work, rather than just how the American federal government works. We settled on municipal garbage collection in its formative years, which began faltering in the post-Civil War period and reached a national trend in the 1890s and early twentieth century.

A return to early garbage collection also provides a lens into current political controversies. Because of the scope and immediacy of garbage collection, cities relied on readily available resources, which included private companies, and so it was not uncommon for garbage collection to be conducted through a public-private partnership. Debates about public and private governance today are often so charged because “contracting out” is equated with trends toward privatization. By looking back through history, we were able to extract our questions about the roles of public and private actors from current hot-button political debates. From this perspective, we were able to view the long-term practices of public and private networks and to view them in context, to capture the social and economic conditions as well as any political corruption of the day. Offi-

cials' private papers, organizations' meeting records, and other collections offered insider accounts of the political opportunities and conflicts among various interests. Such context allowed us to study political development from a basic perspective—we were able to appreciate the garbage problem as an imminent challenge and could trace the claims to political authority that were made by those interests that initially promoted garbage collection. We were able to gauge the resources that were available to decision makers and the political and economic opportunities that presented themselves to the problem solvers. Agency reports, newspaper coverage, and registered complaints provide a perspective into how well the provisions for garbage collection were enforced. Archival sources allowed us to observe the generation of authority, capacity, and enforcement. The various ways in which cities met these imperatives of governing allowed us to conduct comparative studies of political development.

In sum, by studying nineteenth-century municipal garbage collection, we were looking at a new problem for cities and a genuine question about how to address it. Variation across cities told us that there was no one “right” answer. Although quantitative data and secondary sources allowed us to see which cities collected trash in which manner, they could not shed light on how governments came to the answers they did or why they did so. For these questions, we turned to the archives.

ESSENTIAL CONSIDERATIONS: LOCAL CONTEXT

Urban growth in the nineteenth century offered the right time to study and garbage the right issue, though the big question remained: What cities would we study? There are many criteria that go into choosing historical cases. First are questions of research design: Will one look at most similar cases, illustrative cases, or outliers? Each of these different strategies may point to a different locale. However, when doing archival research (especially in local archives) there are also practical considerations to take into account. Is material available? Fires, floods, and purges have wiped

out records from certain cities at particular times. Trying to find government records in the South, for example, is hampered by large gaps in the Civil War period. Even if there are records, are they accessible? Just because there are documents does not mean they are organized in any way. Researchers may have a hard time wading through unopened boxes of material. Further, records may be housed in places that are hard to get to, have limited hours, or require a researcher to have special permission (which he or she may not have).

In choosing our cases, we relied on aggregate data to help us find comparable cities. During the Progressive Era, health professionals and engineers turned to the task of cleaning up cities—advocating better drainage, street construction, and sewers. These “Sanitarians” conducted surveys of cities and kept detailed records. We found two sources to be particularly helpful: George Waring’s (1887) two volumes in the *Report on the Social Statistics of Cities* and Charles V. Chapin’s (1901) 970-page book, *Municipal Sanitation in the United States*. The latter lists cities and their trash collection practices. From the work of these researchers, we were able to collect data about trash collection. Because we wanted to know not just how cities collected trash but also why they were doing so in different ways, we added historical data from the 1900 census of cities and information about methods of disposal (Winslow and Hansen 1903). We put all three types of data (trash collection, city information, and methods of disposal) into a spreadsheet for further analysis.

These data showed that American municipalities were evenly split in their trash collection practices at the time: one-third had collection by municipal employees (“public” collection), one-third used private contractors (“private” collection), and one-third had no municipal collection (“none”). There are a number of explanations that might account for these differences: maybe the variation was due to city size, industrial capacity, or proximity to waterways (and their ability to spread disease). At the very least, we had variation, but it turned out we had a lot more. These numbers masked important regional differences. Cities in the West

by and large had no municipal collection, which is not that surprising given the region's late development. (What "no collection" meant for growing urban populations such as San Francisco's, however, remained a mystery to us.) Cities in the North, by contrast, most often relied on private collection, whereas cities in the Midwest (sandwiched between these two regions) struck a balance between private collection and no collection. But we were most surprised by Southern cities, which overwhelmingly relied on public collection.

Surely, political scientists know the South is exceptional; a look at any journal will turn up regressions with a dummy variable for "South." But the direction of Southern exceptionalism in this case—where Southern cities were doing more by government—went against most of what we were led to expect. How could the economically depressed South provide municipal services by a method that was premised on developed administrative structures while the industrialized and advanced North turned to contractors? What role did strong political machines play in determining collection methods?

Surely, someone must have an answer. We checked to see if other scholars had mapped the territory. We looked through all of the relevant, tangentially relevant, and potentially relevant secondary literature by political scientists, historians, economists, sociologists, and public policy scholars we could find. But there were no clear answers. We had found a true puzzle, and we would have to conduct research into the particular histories of cities to find the answer.

City selection would be important. We based our selection criteria on what we had learned from the literature. Because city size mattered for trash collection practices (small cities had the luxury of potentially taking no action), we chose to examine large cities. Further, we wanted comparable cities. We eliminated outliers such as New York and Chicago—extreme population centers with unusual politics. We selected three cities, one for each region: San Francisco (no collection, West), Pittsburgh (private contractor, North), and New Orleans (public employee, South).

At this point, our readers may be thinking the same thing as many of our colleagues—New Orleans is not a “typical” Southern city. Yes, we agree wholeheartedly. But, we found that there was no typical Southern city at this time. Baltimore was gigantic (with more than 500,000 people) by 1900 standards; General William Tecumseh Sherman had burned Atlanta to the ground; Richmond was the seat of the Confederate government; Washington, DC, was an outlier in how it collected trash and in that it was the seat of the federal government; and Macon, Norfolk, Tampa, and Dallas were too small to be comparable with our other cases. New Orleans was the most comparable with Pittsburgh and San Francisco and as atypical as every other Southern city of the time.

By now, the reader is likely familiar with the challenges and rewards of conducting archival research. We would like to suggest that both are magnified when one is conducting research in municipal archives. Unlike national offices—for which there are some standard rules of thumb—municipalities are all over the map in (1) what they keep, (2) how they keep it, (3) where they keep it, and (4) whether or not the material survived political purges or natural disasters. At some archives, we were met with attentive archivists, well-kept research space, and perfectly preserved records. At others, staff did not think their collections could help us and did not have dedicated space for us to work in, and we literally dusted off records that had not been opened in a century. Both kinds of collections had materials that were essential to our project. Our advice is to be neither encouraged nor discouraged by the outward appearance of collections; the substance is what matters.

When working with local collections, we cannot emphasize enough the importance of local context. Municipal archives are often (though certainly not always) in municipal buildings. Researchers ought to familiarize themselves with local holidays and other events that may interfere with scheduled hours. We learned this lesson the hard way. In one city, we had carefully planned our schedule and carved out specific days for specific archives. We looked online for hours and holidays. However, we

had not anticipated that a collection in a private building would close early for a donor's reception (to which we were not invited!). In New Orleans, we planned a trip for the week before Mardi Gras, or so we thought. We had not expected that Mardi Gras would actually begin early and public buildings would close a day and half in advance of what we anticipated. All of this is to say that websites can be helpful, but they do not spell out what may be common knowledge to people who are from the area, and it is worth calling to be sure.

Local context matters in another way: preparing and interpreting the archival documents. Before going to any municipality, it is worth familiarizing oneself with the history and key players of the area. Certainly, historians steep themselves in single case studies. For political scientists, the goal is not to tell the history of any particular location but to employ cases to learn something about politics and governing more broadly. We relied on secondary literature of cities to sort out the different political regimes, the major political figures, and pertinent third parties such as civic groups and business leaders, as well as general historical episodes such as disease outbreaks and economic depressions and panics. We created detailed time lines and a list of key players—a “who's who” of local city politics, business, and civic society. We made these time lines from those secondary histories, original documents we could locate online (we found Google Books to be a good resource for these during our time period), online newspapers in the 19th Century U.S. Newspaper collection, and periodicals that were available on Google Books. Our time lines for each city ran roughly twenty-five to forty pages, and we estimate we invested ten hours preparing for every one hour we spent in the archives.

LOCATING THE COLLECTIONS

With our cities selected and background research underway, we needed to locate the libraries and archives that held municipal records. We used

a variety of approaches to familiarize ourselves with each city's holdings and to identify the collections.

The municipal government website is a good place to start. Although a typical city website is geared toward current constituency concerns, it should direct the reader to the city's archives. The reader might be sent to a phone number for the archivist, or the link might contain a searchable catalog or a finding aid listing the archive's holdings. Municipal archives can be expected to contain minutes of the city council, volumes of municipal ordinances, annual reports of executive agencies, ledgers of agencies, petitions, licenses, correspondence, and other related records. It all depends on what records that city has decided or been able to retain. These records, then, show both the nitty-gritty politics of cities as they develop over time as well as the concrete actions that municipal agencies undertook to meet the needs of their changing populations.

Municipal archives are housed in various locations. Some cities may hold the archives in their city hall or in a separate municipal building. The archives may have been transferred to the main branch of the public library, as they were in San Francisco and New Orleans. Or, they may have been transferred to a private library, as in the case of Pittsburgh, where the city records are housed in the Senator John Heinz History Center. The city website should direct the reader to the proper repository.

The city is not the only repository for public records. In cases in which city records have been published, as with annual reports or municipal ordinances, municipal records might be found at university libraries, historical societies, or state libraries. The university or state library website might offer a guide to local resources. A "local government" section might provide links to the local libraries and historical societies with holdings on local government. Understanding municipal government, like other levels of government, often entails looking outside of official government holdings. Given our topic, our primary concern was with actual city records, but we also found that the University of Pittsburgh archives in Pittsburgh and the New Orleans collection at the Williams Research Center in New

Orleans provided additional municipal materials as well as collections containing the records of relevant third-party actors, such as Department of Health reports and records of civic associations.

Once we had a list of libraries and other institutions, we did a catalog search of each of them. We cast a wide net, searching for terms such as *garbage*, *department of public works* as well as other related agencies and local civic associations, and other terms that might be garbage-related. Our game plan was to access the records of public agencies, civic organizations, and third-party reports. Our catalog searches produced records of the Civic Club of Allegheny County, records of an engineering company, and the papers of a political boss at the University of Pittsburgh. The Senator John Heinz History Center is a privately owned center with a floor devoted to a library and archives. It contains city records, including annual reports of city agencies. In New Orleans, the city records are available at the main public library. We supplemented its holdings with a visit to the Historic New Orleans Collection at the Williams Research Center, which holds private papers of a civic leader and the papers of a local sanitary organization.

Because we were working together long-distance, we started a Google Doc for each city we planned to visit. We listed each library, posting its address, hours, and policies. We then copied and pasted each of the items or collections we wanted to view. By having all of this information in one document, we were able to schedule our trips by prioritizing the items we wanted to view and the libraries we wanted to visit and by gauging how much time we would need to spend in each library.

It does not hurt to double-check that list against a search in Google Books, ArchivesUSA, or WorldCat. If items are available digitally, then it would be wasteful of precious time during the visit to read it in an archive. That said, digital resources should be used carefully. Handwritten documents are best read in the original. Even typeset documents might be only partially available on Google Books, in which case it is still worth it to visit the original document. In our experience, Google Books offers some

municipal materials online, but it is seldom comprehensive in presenting all of the annual reports. Thus, online resources have served as a supplement to research rather than a replacement for archival visits. Online resources have been useful for offering a preliminary view of a city's documents, showing us how they are organized, what is available, and what we might expect when we get there.

Secondary literature on the history of our respective cities proved crucial here. Different cities housed their garbage collection in different agencies, so secondary literature helped us to identify the classifications and terms that were used in the particular cities we visited. Even then, it took some sorting out to locate the proper department. Current garbage collection in Pittsburgh is organized in the Department of Public Works, but we did not find garbage mentioned in that department in the later nineteenth century because collection was initially administered through the Department of Public Safety. Because of such head-scratching moments, it is better to cast a wide net in the initial search for holdings at the respective libraries. When we hit a snag and thought that there was no record of garbage in Pittsburgh, we returned to our Google Doc for other terms, then consulted the Department of Public Safety records and found plenty of municipal activity on garbage.

GAINING ACCESS

Overall, we found it was not hard to gain access to municipal archives. In part, this was because we were not looking at anyone's personal papers. Unlike the papers of national elites—such as members of Congress or political party leaders—municipal papers do not offer the chance to embarrass a particular person or leak national secrets. We never found records redacted. In fact, we found just the opposite: local government papers showing graft and corruption!

Though federal offices, such as Congress, have standard record collection regulations and practices, we have found that cities do not have stan-

dard record management.⁴ Instead, how documents are collected, which documents are kept, and where they are located varies not only across cities but also over time. If a municipality lacked formal regulations for depositing public records, then the researcher is left with the vagaries of local practices.

SPECIAL CHALLENGES

Municipal records from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are infrequently accessed in municipal archives. Genealogical researchers are more likely to access records that can be searched by name, and only a few historians are looking at agency records. For these reasons, even the librarians may not be familiar with the contents of the holdings. One librarian told us that we would not find anything in the volumes of one of the agencies. We said we would look anyway, and we found a wealth of data on garbage. The lesson is that it does not hurt to look; it is better to pursue a dead end than to miss out on a source of information. The challenges in studying underutilized sources also present opportunities. One may find oneself asking for help in cutting the pages of a book that has never been opened or being the first patron to open a set of correspondence.

Deciphering handwriting and abbreviations presents another challenge, one that we encountered each time we visited a new city or each time a city underwent a regime change and adopted a new style of note taking and recording. For example, we spent days reading through payrolls for the New Orleans Department of Public Works (see figure 6) before we were struck by the odd pattern of names. Some had first names or initials preceding their last names, but others had simply “do” or hatch marks.

Going back and looking through the lists again, we discovered that the “do” or ditto marks that filled the columns were under the title “Mrs.” We were looking at a list of names of women who were receiving payment

from the city, which tipped us off to some significant gendered policies in New Orleans and a separate paper.⁵

The ledgers and correspondence that we found in the archives also provided some of the answers to our questions about how an economically depressed South could provide municipal services. Letters from the commissioner of public works about “intoxication, negligence, and disobedience” among the laborers on the books illustrated the operations of public employment.⁶ Though the initial statistics we found on Southern public employees puzzled us, archival sources indicated that public collection was no indication of adequate or well-organized collection.

Researchers who do archival research in a single city may be able to devote a significant amount of time to familiarizing themselves with city history. Were that the case for us, we would have planned long visits and taken our time with the documents. But, because we needed to collect particular material from a number of cities at the same time as we had obligations back home (such as teaching), we were faced with short research visits in each city.

We had to balance the need to visit multiple cities with the imperative of doing particular research in each city. Other researchers may likewise have to make similar trade-offs. We decided to allot less than a week for each research trip, spending about four business days in each city. We needed to move fast. Digital camera technology is good enough that we could bring our personal point-and-shoot cameras and snap photos of documents. This was especially helpful with annual reports and ledgers.⁷

The ease of digital photography allows researchers to move through documents quickly. But one should not be too hasty. Take the time to get to know the documents, to understand how they are organized, to grasp the logic of the record keeper.

Source. City Archives, New Orleans Public Library.

By familiarizing oneself with the document, one can know what to expect, what is missing, and what else should be explored. For example, the way things look matters. In New Orleans, a single administrator in the first decade of the twentieth century tried to professionalize his office. We did not comprehend the politics right away, but we took note and filled in details later with secondary literature. In that case, a change in record keeping alerted us to larger political changes.

INTERPRETING THE ARCHIVAL RECORD

Municipal archives offer the chance to see inside hundreds of local governments, but this comes with the obligation to do one's homework to understand the context of local government. For political scientists, there is a delicate balancing act between spending scarce time in the archives collecting data and interpreting that data. We have no rule of thumb about the "right" balance between the two. Instead, we offer the following advice. First, spend a few moments with the documents, reflecting on what they are, what they contain, and why they have been collected and preserved. This exercise offers some insight into what one is collecting and why. For example, after poring through the archives finding references to trash frustratingly scattered throughout various municipal volumes, we suddenly found them collected and reported specifically. It would have been all too easy to let out a sigh of relief and say "thank goodness!" However, we found it more helpful (even if it was more work) to think about what had changed that caused administrators to start collecting these data, reporting these data, and saving them. Second, our time lines and "who's who" lists were essential to understanding the written documents while we were in the archives. In fact, we continued to add to them as we worked (we recommend bringing both paper and electronic copies; some archives permit laptops but not paper, others allow paper but not electronic equipment). Third, though the archives may be open for eight hours, archival research trips often involve fourteen- to sixteen-hour days. After the archives closed, we would stop and eat and discuss what we

had found and puzzle over the new questions that the material raised and the old questions that we sought to answer. Evenings are a good time to continue to interpret the record. Taking time to review helps to outline the best course of action for the next day. Because we were moving through the documents so quickly during the day, we needed the evenings to organize our information, figure out what we had seen during the day, conduct searches to answer questions that had arisen, and add any new searches to our list for the next day.

We used the Internet and our ace research assistant to try to find answers (through secondary sources, online municipal records, newspapers, and magazines, or even what additional archives we might wish to search next). We also “processed” the hundreds of documents we collected during the day. After the archives closed, we took our digital images, uploaded them to our computer, and used a program (Picasa is our current favorite) to label them (year, administrative agency, source, regarding) and mark our favorites so they are easily searchable and rearranged. Because there were two of us working on this project, we liked storing them online so we both could have immediate access to them. Programs (such as Picasa or Photoshop) can also be used to clean documents up, enlarge difficult-to-read words, and brighten up dark copies. We looked over them to see what we had collected, how it could answer our questions, and identify what we might have neglected. Did we accidentally skip a year or a department? Did we find something useful in later volumes that we needed to go back and collect for earlier years? Were our photographs legible? Of course, with so many pages, we could not thoroughly read them all; this was more of an overview for us to circumvent the avoidable situation of getting home only to find we did not actually get what we needed.

ROADS NOT TAKEN

Municipal archives have a wealth of information, not just about trash, but about how governments operate. Looking at ordinances, city records,

political memos, and personal papers allows researchers to reconstruct how governments have developed over time. One road we have not (yet) taken is to ask why the federal government did not take up garbage collection. After all, a projection of political development is for programs to start at the state and local levels and then get taken up by the federal government. Garbage collection has remained local, yet the federal government had a brief flirtation with garbage collection during World War I, when it experimented with feeding garbage to hogs. The federal government's study of garbage offers a chance to examine why it decides to take up some local projects but not others.⁸ Regardless of one's interests, the information in these archives could launch countless dissertations, books, and research projects. To give a sense of the range of possible questions and the ways to go about answering them, we highlight two recent pieces by scholars using municipal archives.

Municipal archives can be used to explore what may seem like historical anomalies to offer broader lessons about politics. Jessica Wang (2012) did just this when she detailed an interesting empirical puzzle. In the mid-nineteenth century, the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA) was charged with enforcing New York City's animal control ordinances. Why was a nongovernmental organization acting as executive enforcement? Wang documented the power wielded by the ASPCA and its ongoing confrontations with the New York City Department of Health. Sources include Department/Board of Health annual reports, ASPCA publications, and city newspapers. By tracking the success of animal control efforts and the struggle for power between a city agency and a voluntary association, Wang drew larger lessons on public-private relations in governing.

Looking at cities, however, also allows a comparative perspective across different American governments. One of the great benefits of subnational research (and municipal research in particular) is the large number of cases from which scholars can draw. Jessica Trounstein exemplified this approach in *Political Monopolies in American Cities* (2008).

She showed that political monopolies, whether they are machines or reformers, bias the political system and reduce competition. Working on behalf of a much narrower constituency, both machines and reformers thwart *representative* government (Trounstone 2008). To make such a claim, Trounstone amassed both aggregate data on cities and their elected officials and case studies on nine specific localities and performed an in-depth analysis of two (See also: Trounstone 2006, 2011). The mixed-methods approach here relied on digging out local voting records.

Wang and Trounstone asked different questions, relied on different data, and used different methods. But, by employing local records, they got to questions at the heart of governing. Wang's work starts with a very specific historical event and draws lessons out from it, whereas Trounstone's work looks comparatively across many cities and drills down with individual case studies. Though we will be the first to admit that national records in federal agencies are often easier to access, better organized, and more familiar, taking the time to investigate municipal questions by going to archives offers distinct advantages.

First, municipal archives allow scholars to explore questions that are largely ignored at the federal level. In our case, we were interested in questions about the public and private resources governments used to solve problems. There are only a limited number of policy areas at the federal level that we could look at to answer these questions, and even here they are not always comparable. But researching cities—which are faced with similar problems at similar points in time—allowed us to leverage both aggregate quantitative data (to provide a bird's-eye view) as well as specific comparative historical case studies.

Second, though scholars focus on the federal level, for most Americans local governments are “close to home.” They deal with the immediate concerns that many individuals face (from potholes to trash collection to education). Throughout history, most Americans have been exposed to local concerns first and foremost. Archives are filled with materials about how governments have addressed these local concerns and how citizens

have reacted to both the concerns and governments' attempts to address them.

Third, using archives to study municipal governments, from a purely descriptive standpoint, tells stories that are unfamiliar to most political scientists. The basic facts of what governments did and how they did it are not only fascinating, but they are unavailable through other sources (secondary histories, quantitative data). Insights gleaned from these studies can change the way political scientists think about how governments have developed, why they have developed this way, and what this reveals about government authority and capacity more generally.

ENDNOTES

1. Bureau of Municipal Research, *The City of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Report on a Survey of the Department of Public Health, Department of City Controller, City Council, Department of Public Works et al.* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Printing Co., 1913), 24. Historic Pittsburgh General Text Collection <http://digital.library.pitt.edu/cgi-bin/t/text/text-idx?idno=00avd2227m;view=toc;c=pitttext>. Accessed July 27, 2011.
2. Pittsburgh annexed Allegheny in 1907. Health Officer's Report, *Annual Report, City of Allegheny*, 1880, 339. Library and Archives Division, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, PA.
3. "Campaign for Cleaner Streets May Be Started by Civic Club," *East Liberty Tribune*, August 10, 1917, Civic Club of Allegheny County Records, Archives Service Center, University of Pittsburgh.
4. For example, representatives, senators, and their staffs receive a packet of materials concerning office management, record keeping, and best archival practices during their orientations to Capitol Hill. Adhering to these standards is purely voluntary, and there are still idiosyncrasies in record keeping that are specific to each office. See *Records Management Manual for Members*, available at <http://www.archivists.org/saagroups/cpr/publications/Manual%20for%20Members.pdf>. Members also receive free storage of their papers for up to one year upon leaving office and free shipping of their papers to a domestic location of their choice at the conclusion of that year.
5. Kathleen Sullivan and Patricia Strach, "Widows' Carts: Race, Gender, and Governing in Nineteenth Century New Orleans" (unpublished manuscript).
6. Letter from George Smith to Ed Egan, dated January 7, 1909, Letters and Orders of the General Superintendent of Public Works, New Orleans Public Library.
7. Ask the archivist for policies on photographing. They will likely require that flashes be turned off. Libraries differ on whether they allow tripods. There are desktop tripods which are helpful both for steady shots and for allowing for hands-free photographing. We did not use one, and most of our shots came out fine. Be sure to keep meticulous records when photographing. It is useful to snap a photo of the cover page or write up

a note with bibliographic information and take a shot of that at the start of each new document.

8. See “Army Leads in Waste Prevention and Utilization,” July 4, 1918, *Engineering News-Record* 81 (1): 25–26.

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CHAPTER 10

IN SEARCH OF INFLUENCE

ARCHIVAL RESEARCH AND THE STUDY OF INTEREST GROUPS

Tracy Roof

As I began my first semester of graduate school in Baltimore in the fall of 1994, President Bill Clinton's far-reaching proposal to guarantee every American health insurance was finally pronounced dead. A couple of months later, the Republicans won control of both the House and Senate for the first time in forty years, pledging to roll back America's limited welfare state. Witnessing these events unfold, I became preoccupied with the idea of American exceptionalism. Why had the United States proven so impervious to the social democratic programs, such as universal health care, that most other advanced, industrialized nations had adopted? As I began to explore the literature addressing this issue, the role of organized labor figured prominently in most explanations. The United States has a more limited welfare state in part because the American labor movement never created a viable labor party, never attained the level of political influence that was shared by labor movements in other Western countries, and focused on collective bargaining rather than politics to improve workers'

standard of living. Much of this work was historical in nature, but even in explaining the contemporary failure of Clinton's health care policy as well as the Republican takeover of Congress, pundits repeatedly pointed to the declining power of organized labor as a factor. My research came to focus on why organized labor had apparently exerted so little influence over public policy.

Unions represented more than a third of the workforce coming out of World War II, but organized labor failed to translate this numerical strength into comparable political success. Only a few historians have examined labor's role in the postwar period, and even fewer have looked at labor's efforts to influence public policy. Political scientists such as J. David Greenstone (1977) had largely found labor to be an influential actor in Democratic politics, but they had not focused on why labor accomplished so few of its policy goals. Had labor pursued misguided political strategies? Had it failed to mobilize its members? Was the movement too internally divided among competing goals? Had it found powerful politicians unresponsive to its demands? Although I conducted an initial round of exploratory interviews with current labor activists, I quickly realized that I needed to understand how labor's contemporary struggles over public policy—such as the battle for health care in the Clinton administration—fit into the history of labor's efforts to expand the welfare state. Had labor ever lived up to its potential in pushing for the expansion of the welfare state, and had labor's power over public policy in fact declined from some heyday in the past? I turned to archival materials to find these answers.

Given that the AFL-CIO's national archives were only forty-five minutes away in Silver Spring, Maryland, I had the luxury of casually perusing documents on the AFL-CIO's political activities—particularly its lobbying—without an overarching thesis in mind. Every day I would return home with a folder full of photocopies on the blue paper the archives use to distinguish copies from the original documents. A now-tattered photocopy of a seven-page memo from 1966 written by Andrew Biemiller,

the AFL-CIO's chief lobbyist and a former congressman from Wisconsin, stood out and came to shape my argument, my theoretical approach, and the rest of the research project. It was a detailed description of the labor movement's strategy and a chronology of the day-to-day events in a fifteen-month battle over the repeal of a provision of the Taft-Hartley Act known as 14(b). Taft-Hartley had been passed over President Harry S. Truman's veto by the Republican-controlled Congress in 1947 with the goal of reining in the power organized labor had gained over the course of the New Deal and World War II. The labor movement had tried unsuccessfully to get the entire bill repealed when Democrats regained control of Congress during the Truman administration. But by the 1960s, labor had come to focus on repealing what was widely considered one of the most odious provisions, section 14(b), which allowed states to pass "right-to-work" laws. These laws prohibited the negotiation of union security arrangements that made it easier for unions to solve collective action problems by requiring workers in unionized workplaces to join the union or pay for their share of the costs of collective bargaining. Many Southern and rural Western states had adopted such laws, which reinforced union weakness in these states and contributed to a pattern of extreme regional variation in union strength. Fights against proposed right-to-work laws were also costly and diverted unions' resources from national politics. Thus, the repeal of 14(b) was one of labor's top policy goals in the Lyndon Johnson administration, and the failure of the proposal due to a Senate filibuster was widely viewed as evidence of labor's political weakness and President Johnson's lack of commitment to labor's agenda, even at what is often considered to be the height of labor's political influence in the Great Society years.

But Biemiller's memo suggests a more complicated picture. As I later noted in my book, the memo read like "a textbook case study of the obstacle path that is the American legislative process" (Roof 2011, 101). His chronology revealed a high level of cooperation among Democratic congressional leaders, the Johnson administration, and labor lobbyists in trying to get the bill past numerous potential institutional obstacles from

committee to floor consideration. At every stage of the process in the House, the labor movement managed to do what was necessary to get the bill passed, from getting it referred to the most favorable subcommittee, to strong-arming a recalcitrant committee chairman to call up the bill, to clearing its path to the floor by helping to pass a reinstatement of a House procedure known as the “twenty-one-day rule,” which prevented the conservative Rules Committee from bottling up legislation indefinitely. The bill finally passed on the House floor in the summer of 1965 by a vote of 221 to 203, and President Johnson called AFL-CIO president George Meany on the House floor to urge quick action in the Senate.

But the Senate posed greater challenges. The memo noted that in an early August meeting between Biemiller, Meany, and Republican minority leader Everett Dirksen, the senator from rural Illinois signaled his intention to propose an amendment to the 14(b) repeal, amending the Constitution to invalidate a recent Supreme Court decision requiring the apportionment of seats in both houses of bicameral state legislatures based on population. Labor and most liberals were very supportive of the court’s decision because the bias towards rural representation in many state legislatures had undermined the power of urban and typically more unionized areas. Dirksen threatened to filibuster the 14(b) repeal unless labor agreed to drop its opposition to the amendment. The memo noted that Dirksen warned he would “use every weapon at his command in the fight ahead.”¹ Conservative opponents stalled the bill in committee through extended debate and amendments, but it was finally reported in September. Dirksen threatened that if 14(b) was brought up, the Senate would be in session until “the snow falls.”² As I would discover in later research in the Lyndon Johnson archives, Majority Leader Mike Mansfield was very skeptical that cloture could be invoked, but he called up the bill anyway out of the Democrats’ obligation to labor. After several failed cloture votes, Mansfield recessed the Senate. But, under labor and administration pressure, the bill was again taken up when the Senate came back into session in 1966. In the final vote in February, fifty-one senators voted in favor of cloture, with one pro-repeal senator out due to illness. Labor had majority support,

but nowhere near the sixty-seven-vote supermajority that was required to invoke cloture at the time.

The memo drove home to me that the failure of 14(b) reflected more about the high hurdles to policy change in America's uniquely convoluted legislative process than it did about the political weakness or failed strategies of organized labor. The particulars of the legislative battle actually suggested that labor was quite politically savvy and exerted a great deal of influence in Congress and the Johnson administration. But this influence could not overcome minority obstruction. Defending the Johnson administration and its commitment to labor in an oral history interview some twenty years after the 14(b) fight, White House staffer Lawrence O'Brien noted that passing the 14(b) repeal after Dirksen committed to filibustering was simply "an impossible task."³ This legislative episode, as it was described in the Biemiller memo, suggested to me an entirely different approach to judging the political influence of organized labor that no scholar had clearly taken before. Similar to Amy Fried's experience, described in chapter 8 in this volume, the archival research led me to adopt a historical institutionalist approach in evaluating the role of organized labor in American public policy. The exceptional weakness of the labor movement when compared with those of other industrialized countries was in part embedded in U.S. political institutions, particularly the institutions of the legislative process which privilege minority defense of the status quo, not just on labor law legislation but on a range of welfare state policies.

With a guiding thesis in mind, I undertook additional research at the archives of the UAW and CIO at Wayne State University and the presidential archives of Harry Truman, Lyndon Johnson, and Jimmy Carter, focusing on labor's legislative efforts in three policy areas (labor law reform, full employment, and health care) from the 1940s through the 1970s. I found similar patterns across the Democratic administrations and documentary evidence that challenged contemporary accounts of labor's lack of political influence. For example, it was clear that the Carter admin-

istration actually worked quite hard to pass labor's top legislative priority of a package of labor law reforms and was confident until the final days of the losing battle that a sixtieth vote could be found to invoke cloture on a filibuster against the bill. But once my attention was trained on the constraints imposed on labor's political influence by legislative institutions such as the House Rules Committee and the Senate filibuster, additional themes repeatedly appeared in the documents that led me to expand the research project again. It became clear that labor leaders' frustration with policy failures in the early postwar period led labor to develop and pursue a fairly coherent political strategy over this thirty-year period of obtaining what legislative gains it could while trying to realign the Democratic party away from Southern conservatism towards urban liberalism and to reform congressional rules and procedures to empower the majority in the majority party in the legislative process. Documents detailing labor's lobbying of presidents, presidential candidates, members of Congress, and Democratic Party officials suggested how highly civil rights legislation was prioritized by national labor organizations from the 1940s forward, with internal documents citing the enfranchisement of black people as a major component in a strategy to undermine the power of conservative Southern Democrats. Evidence of labor's electoral activities further showed a sustained effort to mobilize African American voters, even in the South prior to the passage of major civil rights legislation. Other documents showed how hard labor pressured Democrats, including congressional leaders, administration officials, and Democratic National Committee leaders, to take on various issues of congressional reform, including reform of the Rules Committee, seniority provisions, the cloture threshold, and the Democratic caucus. They also revealed how proposals that labor helped to shape in the 1940s were eventually adopted. These objectives took decades to achieve and had a number of unintended consequences, but this was another arena of influence in which labor's political mobilization appeared far more consequential for the course of American political development in the postwar period than most labor scholars had acknowledged. These reforms reverberated in the political

system for decades, playing a central role in reshaping party alignments, the legislative process, and contemporary U.S. politics, even as the unionized percentage of the workforce declined. Without the archival research, I am not sure I would have picked up on the extent of labor's role in these areas.

THE STUDY OF ORGANIZED INTERESTS

Much of the contemporary political science literature on interest groups has focused on addressing three overarching concerns:

1. describing the contours of the interest group universe in terms of the number and type of groups, as well as the tactics and strategies they typically employ;
2. investigating the organizational development of groups, including how they are formed, how they acquire and use resources, and how they attract members and support; and
3. evaluating the influence of groups in electoral politics and the public policy-making process.

Some studies, particularly those focused on the aggregate influence of interest groups as a class of political actors, address only one of these questions, whereas others, particularly those that provide an in-depth analysis of one organization or the range of groups that are active in one sector or policy area, look at all three.

Political science is an eclectic discipline, and researchers have employed a diverse range of methodological approaches in the study of interest groups. Large-scale surveys have been used to assess the range of groups that are active in politics, the origins of groups, and the strategies groups use (Schlozman and Tierney 1986; Knoke 1990; Walker 1991; Heinz et al. 1993; Gray and Lowery 1996). Much of the research on groups' involvement in elections has been based on quantitative analyses

of data that have become widely available in recent decades, such as records of campaign contributions, public opinion polls, voter turnout, and other electoral statistics. Other researchers have made creative use of available data. For example, Jeffrey Berry (1999) used a series of content analyses of references to groups in press reports, group appearances before Congress, and categorizations of the issues addressed by legislation that was the subject of congressional hearings to measure the changing influence of various categories of groups on the political agenda over a thirty-year period. But the most common method of collecting information on interest groups has been interviews with group representatives and participants in the policy-making process. This technique has been used to collect information on interest groups' origins (both in studies of individual groups, as in, for example, McFarland 1984, and in studies of the interest group system, as in, for example, Walker 1991), their electoral activities (see, for example, Francia 2006), their policy positions (see, for example, Martin 2000), and their lobbying strategies (see, for example, Kollman 1998; Goldstein 1999; and Nownes 2006). Interviews with more than three hundred lobbyists and government officials on a random sample of policy issues were also the basis of the path-breaking study by Baumgartner and his colleagues of the impact of organized interests' lobbying on policy debates and outcomes (Baumgartner et al. 2009).

Although knowledge of groups' influence in the contemporary period has expanded considerably in recent decades as a result of such research, scholars' reliance on these methods has necessarily limited the time horizons of most interest group scholarship. Much of the political science literature, to the degree that it covers historical events, still relies on secondary academic sources and contemporary press accounts. But this is changing.

A growing number of studies have utilized archival research, either alone or in combination with methods such as interviews, to investigate the operation and activities of interest groups in the past and changes over time. As in my own research, most of these studies have been situated in the subfield of American political development. Although it is by

no means exhaustive, the following section will categorize some of the most prominent strains in interest group research utilizing archives and will provide an overview of the various types of questions and theoretical issues archival research has been used to address.

ARCHIVES AND INTEREST GROUP RESEARCH

In one of the few studies utilizing archival research that also attempts to quantify the full range of groups active in Washington policy making prior to World War II, Daniel Tichenor and Richard Harris called attention to the need to “expand the time horizons” of interest group research beyond the last half century to include the Progressive Era, when modern liberalism began to “take shape” (2002, 588). Acknowledging that research into the aggregate role of the universe of groups—as opposed to case studies of particular groups—has been limited by the use of sources considered to be reliable, such as directories of organizations active in Washington that cover only a limited time period, Tichenor and Harris looked to new historical sources. Using records of congressional committee testimony by organizations from 1833 to 1917, they showed the steep growth in the number and diversity of interest groups appearing before Congress during the Progressive Era. Because of the limits of their data, scholars working in the postwar period missed this growth and tended to assume that the transformation and diversification of the interest group universe that was observed in the postwar period was unprecedented. Tichenor and Harris used their findings to challenge the universality of theories developed in the postwar period that the growth of government drives interest group formation rather than the other way around, because these groups emerged before the growth in government the groups sought. They supplemented this aggregate information on the interest group system with a case study of immigration policy which utilized archival research into the activities of pro- and anti-immigration groups. The archival materials revealed the strategies of these groups and the heavy emphasis they placed on providing expertise to government commissions and congressional committees as

a means of exerting influence in the policy-making process. Although much of the literature on interest groups had suggested that cozy iron triangle relationships among clientele groups, congressional committees, and executive agencies were dominant into the 1960s, Tichenor and Harris found a diverse issue network operating in the highly visible policy area of immigration policy before the turn of the twentieth century. Clearly, the rise in public interest groups in the 1960s and 1970s was not a new development in American politics but a return to earlier patterns from the Progressive Era. Tichenor and Harris concluded that the roots of modern interest group politics go deeper into history than most post–World War II studies suggest.

Other studies also looking at the Progressive Era have used archival research to explore the origins, maintenance, and strategies of particular groups or categories of groups. These studies found archival evidence suggesting that many actors viewed interest group mobilization as an attractive alternative to working through political parties, consistent with the Progressive Era reformers' hostility to parties. Based on research in various archives of labor, farm, and women's organizations, Elisabeth Clemens (1997) traced the emergence and organizational development of citizens' groups in these three sectors, concentrating on the states of California, Washington, and Wisconsin. She found that these groups created a "people's lobby" that used tactics of popular mobilization in order to circumvent the entrenched interests that were tied to the dominant two-party system in shaping Progressive Era public policies. Focusing on just one group, Cathie Jo Martin (2006) used National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) convention proceedings and President William McKinley's papers to trace the early development of the NAM as an effort by McKinley and his supporters to overcome the sectionalism of the parties at the turn of the century and to mobilize industrialists in all regions of the country, including the Democratic South, behind the Republicans' agenda. Her study also helps to explain a perplexing reversal in the NAM's policy positions. She found that after failing to achieve its legislative initiatives and losing membership, the organization shifted from a

vision of economic coordination to laissez-faire individualism in order to attract more members.

Looking at the postwar period, a study by McGee Young (2010) also deals with the organization and maintenance of groups but attempts to develop more universal principles about the nature of interest group development rather than the characteristics of the political system in a particular era. Young used interviews and archival research to explore the origins and organizational development of two pairs of groups: the National Small Business Association (NSBA) and the National Federation of Independent Business (NFIB), and the Sierra Club and National Resources Defense Council (NRDC). He argued that aggregate studies that look at the influence of interest groups as a class of political actors obscure the impact of particular groups and the importance of understanding which groups have flourished in the system and why. He discovered that the organizational entrepreneurs who found organizations shape the groups' political identities, their tactics, and their ties to other political actors. These core features of the groups' formative identities shape their prospects for success and survival later on as organizations have to adapt to changing political opportunities. This process has important consequences because which groups thrive, such as the NFIB, and which groups decline, such as the NSBA, in turn shape policy debates and outcomes as well as the representativeness of the interest group system of societal interests. Young emphasized that the outcome of the competition among groups is not fore-ordained in a test of the survival of the fittest but is the result of a complex path-dependent process of organizational adjustment to changing circumstances. The historical documents that are available from these groups allowed him to piece together examples of this process.

Although all of these studies have linked the origin and maintenance of groups to their policy stances, another strain of interest group scholarship utilizing archival research has focused more explicitly on the evolution of various groups' positions in a particular policy area over time. Victoria Hattam (1993) used archives, platforms, proceedings, and publi-

cations from the Knights of Labor and the AFL to tie the rise of collective bargaining and business unionism as the dominant organizational strategy of the AFL in the late nineteenth century to its confrontations with the courts in its efforts to obtain legislation protecting workers' rights and to changing conceptions of class from the Knights' focus on producers to the AFL's focus on wage earners. Her study thus challenges conventional notions that the AFL eschewed political action because of the conservatism of its leaders or the lack of class consciousness among union members. In another study of labor, Janice Fine and Tichenor (2009) used interviews and research in the papers of labor, immigrant rights, and anti-immigration groups to explain organized labor's shifting policy positions on immigration from the mid-1800s through the contemporary period. Marie Gottschalk (2000) also combined research in labor and business association archives with interviews with representatives of labor, business, and public interest groups to trace the evolving positions of these groups on health care reform in the post-World War II period. She used her empirical study to argue that labor lost the opportunity to build an effective political coalition behind a national health care system by endorsing reforms it thought business would accept. In each of these examples, the historical documents from the interest groups' archives allowed the researchers to see how and why the groups' public policy positions shifted with far more detail than could have been reconstructed from contemporary press accounts alone.

As is true of the larger field of interest group scholarship, most studies utilizing archival research on interest group activities focus on the impact of groups on policy development in a particular area. The empirical evidence of group influence is often used to support larger arguments regarding the trajectory of American political development. For example, in her influential study of the mobilization of women's and veterans' groups in the late 1800s and early 1900s, Theda Skocpol (1992) used archival research in the records of national-, state-, and local-level organizations to show how effective these groups were in mobilizing for pensions and other protections for veterans and mothers. In the process,

these groups built a nascent welfare state that was quite different from those focused on benefits for male wage earners, which developed in most other Western countries in response to the pressure of organized labor. This early welfare state had not received much scholarly attention prior to Skocpol's work because so few researchers had explored the goals and activities of these local groups, which virtually required archival research. In another study covering the development of immigration policy over the entire history of the United States, Tichenor combined interviews with extensive research into the archives of pro- and anti-immigrant groups and activists, labor archives, presidential papers, congressional records, and other government documents to look at how the "interactions between political institutions, ideological traditions, and organized social interests" (2002, 5) encouraged the adoption of expansionist immigration policies at some points in American history and restrictive policies at others.

A range of studies on the historical development of public policies also make a case for path dependency, providing evidence that interest group strategies and policy decisions at one point in time shape the range of policy options that are open to groups decades later. Several of these studies look at groups' role in the development of a mixed system of public and private sector benefits for workers in the United States in the post-World War II period. Jennifer Klein (2003) used research into archives of various labor organizations, business organizations, insurance companies, and federal agencies to trace the policy battles that encouraged the growth of employer-provided health insurance and pension benefits rather than expansive public programs. Jacob Hacker (2002) also used archival research, primarily in the records of federal agencies, to explore similar issues, including the evolution of the positions of business and labor groups on health care and pension policy and the complementary development of public and private sector programs. In another example, Christy Ford Chapin (2010) used research in the Social Security Administration archives and the papers of leaders and activists in the American Medical Association (AMA) and health insurance industry to illustrate how the positions and activities of the AMA and the Health Insurance

Association of America (HIAA) shaped the American system of health care financing. Two other examples are focused on civil rights policy. Paul Frymer (2008) used the archives of the NAACP, various labor groups, and federal agencies to examine the government's efforts to integrate unions and to describe how issues of class and race were fragmented into separate policy spheres in policies regulating the workplace, in part because of the strategies that were pursued by civil rights and labor organizations. Anthony Chen (2009) also used research into the archives of members of Congress and civil rights organizations to link the development of affirmative action to the outcome of earlier policy battles over fair employment practices legislation from the 1940s to the 1970s.

While also examining the impact of groups on public policy outcomes, other studies have used archival evidence to establish patterns of influence of interest groups from a given sector, such as agriculture and labor, in various policy-making arenas over time. Hansen (1991) supplemented his own interviews with group representatives and policy makers with oral history interviews from various archives to tie the ebb and flow of agricultural interest groups' influence in Congress from 1919 to 1981 to the groups' ability to bolster members of Congress's electoral prospects. Also combining research at labor and presidential archives on labor's activities in the 1960s and 1970s with interviews of labor lobbyists who were active in the 1980s and 1990s, Taylor Dark (1999) used evidence of labor groups' influence in the executive branch, Congress, and Democratic Party structures to support his argument that labor's political power did not decline over this period but instead remained remarkably consistent.

Finally, archival research has also been used to explore the relationships among various interest groups and organized constituencies. For example, Alan Draper (1994) looked at the interaction of organized labor and the civil rights movement in the South from 1954 to 1968 by utilizing research in multiple labor archives and the papers of labor and civil rights leaders, as well as interviews with labor activists, local- and state-level leaders, and staff of labor organizations. His study makes it clear that the AFL-CIO

faced nearly insurmountable challenges in trying to maintain the support of Southern union members while furthering its goal of progress on civil rights. The relationship of labor to the civil rights movement in the South had received very little media or scholarly attention, and it would have been very difficult for Draper to have recreated this history without the use of archival materials. In another example using both archival research and interviews, Andrew Battista (2008) analyzed the relationship between groups in the labor-liberal coalition from 1968 through the mid-2000s, tracing the decline of the alliance and its revival, especially through the activities of groups created by the more progressive wing of the labor movement in the 1970s and 1980s, such as the Progressive Alliance and the Economic Policy Institute. Very little scholarly attention had been given to these groups, and the interviews and documentary materials were necessary for Battista to find evidence for his study.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

The diverse range of studies employing archival research illustrates how useful a tool it can be in studying interest groups. One of the key advantages of archival research over other methodologies such as surveys, interviews, and quantitative analysis is that it allows the researcher to look at a longer time horizon. Historical data may not be available, and participants in past political events may simply no longer be around to interview or survey. As a result, many of the studies reviewed earlier combine archival research with other methodologies, particularly interviews, in order to trace the evolution of group strategies and influence over time. Moreover, a researcher may not be able to secure interviews with some of the most important players in political battles, such as the president. But the researcher will have access to the president's considerations through the materials that are available in presidential archives. Archives also enable researchers to study groups or issues that have not received much media or scholarly attention and are therefore not covered in many secondary

sources, as in the works of Clemens, Martin, Young, Skocpol, Draper, and Battista discussed earlier.

Archival research can also help the researcher get a more objective perspective on a group's political influence or internal operations. Politicians and other political actors may have reasons to downplay the influence of unpopular interest groups or exaggerate their responsiveness to important constituency groups. Group representatives may also be less than forthcoming about internal divisions over policy positions, failures to exert influence on policy makers' decisions, or declining membership or resources. Thus, public documents and contemporary press accounts may be misleading, and group representatives or policy makers may have reasons to present a subjective or skewed interpretation of events when they are interviewed by a researcher. Archival research will often allow a researcher to avoid these pitfalls because he or she has access to documents that were not intended for public consumption.

Archival materials also enable a researcher to gain a more comprehensive understanding of a group's policy positions by providing information that may not be available anywhere else. A group's archives (and often information from other archives, such as those of members of Congress or presidents) can provide information on the nuances of the group's changing positions over time and the strategies they used to accomplish their policy goals. Archival materials can reveal internal deliberations and disputes over these positions and strategies that were never made public. Moreover, information may be uncovered on a group's bottom line position, as opposed to its ideal position that was typically presented in public. A researcher will likely also get a better sense of how groups developed and prioritized their agendas. Finally, archival materials may shed light on groups' efforts to build coalitions with other groups. As discussed earlier, archival findings along these lines enriched the work of Martin, Young, Fine and Tichenor, Gottschalk, Klein, Hacker, Chapin, and Battista.

Archival research affords the researcher insight into the myriad ways that groups exert influence in the policy process. Political scientists often

judge a group as successful if the legislation it endorses becomes law. But, if one simply looks at whether an organization has achieved its overall policy goals or whether it has won or lost particular legislative battles, one may underestimate a group's power. In contrast, if one judges organizations' influence by how responsive politicians are to its requests, how much coordination there is between powerful politicians and group leaders, and how much impact the groups have on particular policy debates—regardless of whether the group is ultimately successful in enacting its favored legislation—a much different picture emerges. Archival materials that reveal the behind-the-scenes interactions between policy makers and groups can shed light on these less-obvious forms of influence. For example, in my own research, organized labor lost every major labor law reform fight in Congress when the pro-labor position was a change in the status quo since the passage of the National Labor Relations Act in 1935, typically as the result of a Senate filibuster in which labor had majority support. But labor exerted considerable influence in each of the battles. The studies by Tichenor, Hansen, and Dark that were discussed earlier reflect similar insights, finding significant interest group influence, even when groups did not prevail. By facilitating a more comprehensive analysis than the measurement of win-loss ratios on legislation, archival research can enable the researcher to more fully capture the nature of interest group influence in Washington.

Archival research can also provide a much better window on groups' roles in shaping politicians' decisions in the broader context of the decision-making process. Groups' demands are only one of many factors that shape political outcomes, and archival materials can shed light on how politicians weigh these multiple factors. In another example from my own research, I found memos in the Truman archives documenting the volume of mail urging Truman to veto the Taft-Hartley Act, much of it generated by organized labor's efforts. Other memos documented the overwhelmingly critical tone of the newspaper editorial pages towards labor and the negative tenor of public opinion. Letters from Southern members of Congress warned against a veto, arguing it would destroy the Democratic

Party. However, highly confidential memos from labor relations specialists also revealed that the experts the administration consulted overwhelmingly urged a veto of both bills out of fear their provisions would provoke more industrial unrest. The documents made it clear that Truman was aware he was potentially taking a costly stand with widespread consequences. However, the political calculations on the veto were of most interest, and they presaged Truman's strategy going into the 1948 elections. As Clark Clifford noted in his famous memo on the factors shaping the 1948 election, "As always, the South can be considered safely Democratic. And in formulating national policy, it can be safely ignored...[The president] must, however, get along with the Westerners and with labor if he is to be reelected."⁴ In vetoing Taft-Hartley, Truman decided he had more to gain than to lose from an alliance with labor, suggesting labor had a great deal of influence within the administration and the national Democratic Party. Many of the studies described earlier benefitted from similar contributions from archival research.

Of course, there are also limitations and drawbacks in using archives to study group influence. Many archives have embargoes on documents of twenty to twenty-five years, and some individuals may contribute their papers to an archive with a prohibition on their use while the contributor is still alive. Thus, a researcher may well be restricted to studying events in the distant past. Although archival research is very useful for tracing patterns of change and continuity and looking for universal principles, if a researcher is studying a group's influence over time, including the contemporary period, he or she will be looking for patterns with very different levels of information about events in the past and the present. It may also be hard and time-consuming—or just plain impossible—to get a complete and balanced view of a group's influence. Ideally, one would want to look at the archives of political allies as well as enemies and to look at those of groups on all sides of an issue to mitigate the impact of the subjectivity of the actors involved on one's conclusions. But many groups do not maintain archives. Moreover, archives can vary considerably in their completeness, with many important records likely lost to time. As a

result, a researcher is not getting either a complete or a random sample of information, which may be misleading. Another problem can be information overload. I came back with thousands of pages of documents from each of my presidential archives visits. It took months to review them all, it was hard to catalog them, and many of the documents were ultimately not very useful. It can take a lot of mining to find the occasional diamond. Yet, when that happens, as with the memo I described at the opening of this chapter, it can transform a research project.

INTEREST GROUP ARCHIVES AND ADVICE ON HOW TO USE THEM

The use of archival research has likely been more common in the study of the political activities of organized labor than in the study of other groups and organized constituencies because the history of organized labor is so well preserved. There are numerous collections of documents from labor unions and labor organizations, including those of national-, state-, and local-level organizations. The George Meany Memorial Archives in Silver Spring, Maryland, contain the records of the AFL beginning in 1881 and more complete records of the AFL-CIO from the merger of the two organizations in 1955 forward. The Walter P. Reuther Library at Wayne State University has the largest labor collection, including the national and many state and local records of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) prior to the merger, the International Longshoremen, the International Workers of the World (IWW), the Newspaper Guild, the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), the United Auto Workers (UAW), the United Farm Workers (UFW), and labor-affiliated organizations such as the Committee for National Health Insurance. The Reuther Library also contains the papers of numerous national, state, and local labor leaders, as well as the papers of the founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and influential civil rights activists such as

Rosa Parks. The Southern Labor Archives at Georgia State University contain the records of many of the local, state, and regional labor organizations that were active in the South as well as the national offices of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO), and the United Garment Workers of America (UGWA). Other papers of labor leaders, activists, and state- and local-level organizations are scattered across the United States in various library collections. The Society of American Archivists maintains a listing of labor archives that is accessible from its website. Limited records of the AFL, the CIO, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America are available on microform from University Publications of America (UPA) through Lexis-Nexis. UPA also offers microform records of some heavily studied groups such as the NAACP, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), as well as records from groups associated with the Black Power Movement.

The availability of records for other types of organizations is more variable. Groups' archives can be located in a range of places, from private libraries to government document repositories. The Hagley Library near Wilmington, Delaware, holds collections from the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) and the Chamber of Commerce as well as other trade associations and corporate offices. The Society of American Archivists also maintains a listing of corporate archives, which can be found on its website. The Library of Congress holds the records of civil rights organizations such as the National Urban League and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, public interest organizations such as the National Consumers' League, women's rights organizations such as the League of Women Voters, and materials from organizations fighting for and against the Equal Rights Amendment. Limited records of the National Organization of Women (NOW) and the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) are available at the Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America at Harvard University. Archives of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) are located at the

Princeton University Library and the ACLU's national office. The Sierra Club's records are held by the Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley. Though most archives are open to academic researchers, some may be very difficult to access, such as those of the American Medical Association, which are available only to association members. To determine the availability of records for organizations that may be of interest in a study, a researcher should first find what is available on the Internet and contact the organization if it is still in existence.

The degree of completeness of records varies considerably across group archives, but a range of materials may be available. Internal documents, memoranda, and correspondence with politicians and policy makers, other group leaders, and group members can be particularly helpful in understanding a group's policy positions, strategies, and effectiveness. Group archives also often contain other useful materials, such as journals and newspapers published by the organizations and convention proceedings that reveal a lot about an organization's policy priorities. When they are available, the minutes of leadership meetings can also be used to gain information about internal deliberations and decision making. Some archives contain press releases and pamphlets directed to members or the general public that reveal information about policy positions and political strategies. Some archives will also include figures on membership and budgets that suggest the strength, stability, or insecurity of the organization. A few archives have collected transcripts of oral history interviews with prominent figures in the group or political allies; these may be subjective, but they are still likely to enrich the understanding of the group's activities.

Unfortunately, the records of many organizations have not been collected or are incomplete, but there are alternative prospects for finding information on groups' political and policy influence. A researcher should identify important leaders, officers, and staff members and try to find out if these individuals have contributed their papers to an archive. Despite the fact that the AMA does not allow researchers access to its records, Chapin

was able to gain significant information on the organization's activities through the papers of one of its executive vice presidents and various proceedings published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (JAMA). A researcher should also contact the organization to see if it maintains records that have not been processed that he or she might gain access to. For example, Common Cause staff gave McFarland access to staff memos and polling data, Tichenor gained access to documents from the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) through its Washington office, and the staff of the National Small Business Association (NSBA) allowed Young to peruse unprocessed records housed at its main office. Moreover, even if the records of the national office of an organization have not been preserved, the records of state and local chapters may have been collected by local libraries. These resources made possible Clemens's and Skocpol's research into the activities of local grassroots organizations in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which revealed a high level of group influence that was not as apparent on the national level.

As illustrated in many of the examples of archival research discussed earlier, a researcher will also likely find considerable information on groups' political activities and the development of policies of interest to the groups that are being studied at the archives of federal agencies collected by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), presidential papers, congressional records, and papers from other political institutions. For example, both Hacker and Klein were able to use records of the Social Security Administration to gain more information on the positions of labor and business groups on health and pension issues. Martin used presidential records to look at the origins of the NAM, and Dark and I used presidential records to evaluate labor's political influence. Research into the papers of members of Congress may also prove fruitful, as it did with Chen's study of the development of affirmative action policy. The Society of American Archivists has even recommended that archivists maintaining the records of members of Congress consider acquiring the records of important groups associated with that member's career (Phillips 1995). The papers of party leaders and party records located in presiden-

tial archives could also be useful in exploring interest group influence. A range of government archives may even be available at the local level. For example, in her study of the motivations of black women environmental justice advocates in Memphis, Andrea Simpson was able to incorporate research in the minutes of public meetings and records of the local archives of the Defense Logistics Agency, a division of the Department of Defense (Simpson, 2011). With a little legwork, archival research can likely be incorporated into most research on the political activities of influential groups.

Although the organization of records will vary considerably across archives, there are several things that can be done in advance before visiting any of them. Most of the archives maintain online finding aids, and if they are not available, some archives may be willing to send or e-mail copies of the aids for the topics that are most important to one's research. It is a good idea to review these in advance as well as to contact an archivist to get a sense of how much material relevant to one's topics of interest the archives may hold. This will help one judge whether to hire a local researcher or to visit oneself and for how long. In order to navigate the finding aids, a researcher should get as much information as possible about the organization and its activities. Figure out which leaders and staffers in the organization, congressional office, or administration deal with the issues of interest. Know which divisions of the organization are responsible for what. It is also helpful to develop a time line of relevant dates, such as when legislation was proposed or passed or when important decisions were made. The secondary literature as well as contemporary press accounts can be useful for putting together this information. For example, I found the *CQ Almanac* very helpful for finding background information on legislative battles because it covers every stage in the legislative process and often provides fairly detailed information on interest groups' activity on an issue. In addition to doing this type of preparatory work, it is a good idea to explore any documents or oral histories that the archives may have available online in advance to see if they suggest avenues for further research.

A researcher will need to develop a system of keeping track of the research. Before going, find out the archives' policies regarding computer use, note taking, and photocopying. While there, keep a list of all the boxes and folders that have been looked at. Look at the archives' recommended form of citation and make sure to catalog all of the information that is needed to properly cite a document. Some archives allow researchers to make photocopies, whereas others require that photocopies be made by their own staff. It is a good idea to write the citation information on the photocopy if the archivist does not attach it. Most archives will now allow researchers to take digital pictures of documents, which can really save time and money. Before going, snap some test pictures of paperwork and print them to figure out which settings work best on the camera. A researcher will also need to be very careful about keeping track of where the documents that are photographed are located. I wrote down (or typed up) the picture number along with the subject and the citation information in a log. At night, I checked back over my logs for accuracy and checked through the pictures for the clarity of the images, copied them onto my hard drive, and backed them up to alternative media. After spending hours in my basement trying to locate a log notebook, I also started making PDFs of these logs so I would not have to worry about losing them. It might be helpful to snap pictures of box and folder titles as the research proceeds, which can also help to keep track of where the documents are located. Another benefit of taking digital pictures is that a researcher can minimize the time spent at the archive by snapping a shot of anything that looks interesting and reading it later. Of course, this means that some new directions for research may be missed while a researcher is at the archive. But if several days are being spent in the research, some time can be taken at night to read back over the documents that were collected that day.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Because so few researchers have used archives to study interest groups, there are a wealth of possibilities for future research. The archives of

members of Congress have been particularly underutilized. Because of pressures of time, family, and the tenure clock, I relied on the archives of labor organizations and presidential administrations to collect evidence of labor's influence in Congress. But I am sure my study would have been greatly enriched by research in congressional archives. To date, most of what is known about the relationship between interest groups and congressional leaders has been gleaned through press accounts and interviews. Congressional archives have barely been tapped to investigate important questions regarding groups' influence over leadership decisions and how leaders employ group resources to deliver the votes of members of Congress. Although some research has already been done in this area, there is more room for the use of group archives in the study of the internal dynamics of groups, such as how they attract, hold, and mobilize members and how they build coalitions and alliances with other groups. There also has not been much archival research on the electoral strategies of interest groups. A range of research agendas might benefit from a greater use of archival resources.

ENDNOTES

1. "Chronology," prepared by Andrew Biemiller, the AFL-CIO's chief lobbyist, for AFL-CIO president George Meany. Legislative Reference Files, box 48, folder 18, George Meany Memorial Archives.
2. Ibid.
3. Transcript, Lawrence F. O'Brien Oral History Interview XIII, September 10, 1986, by Michael L. Gillette, Internet Copy, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, 13.
4. November 19, 1947, memo from Clark Clifford to Harry S. Truman. The Clifford papers are available at <http://www.trumanlibrary.org>.

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PART III

ON THE ROAD

CHAPTER 11

HITTING THE ROAD WITHOUT HITTING THE POTHOLES

Sean Q Kelly and Linda A. Whitaker

“I just said we’d make it across. I didn’t say anything about the wheels staying on.”

—Rubin Carver in *Road Trip*

Archival research is an adventure—a mixture of anticipation and inconvenience, but only rarely a total disaster. Whether by road trip or discount airfare, the key to traveling well is having an openness to the experience and an understanding of where one is headed. The prospect of discovering new material, new data, and new knowledge should offset the typical frustrations of travel. When things go badly in an archive, it is often due to a lack of communication and planning.¹ This is not a casual enterprise. Lost time and squandered opportunities can haunt a researcher long after the

return home. A certain readiness and a willingness to communicate will go a long way in fending off complete research failures.

This chapter is a collaboration between a political scientist and an archivist who want researchers to be successful. The intention is to draw on our experiences from both sides of the research process to help a researcher prepare for that first immersion into the archives. The end result will be that a researcher's best efforts go directly towards the research, not the travel details. Proof of success will be a desire to do it again and again. At the end of the book is an appendix with two worksheets to aid in planning.

BATTLE PLANS

One's previous research habits may not be a good preparation for working in a new research environment far from home and without the built-in safety nets. Travel, recording and digesting new information, and adjusting to long hours of intense focus require a strategy that makes the most of each visit. To succeed, one must communicate like a David Parker, plan like a Sean Kelly or a Scott Frisch, prioritize like a Brandon Rottinghaus, and accommodate like a Kathleen Sullivan or Patricia Strach. Fortunately, these scholars have mapped the territory so that others, including archivists and librarians, may follow.

Many scholars who are new to using primary sources and visiting archives have never consulted a librarian, let alone an archivist—for anything. This is a well-documented pattern. Academics accustomed to the relatively solitary nature of research generally are reluctant to reach out for assistance. Some researchers may not relish sharing the trajectory of their research for fear of being scooped. For these and other reasons, researchers often are not prepared for the communication that is required to remain pointed in the right direction on the research road. If only because money and time are in short supply, we offer this advice: Get over it. The name of the archival research game is establishing relationships.

One must engage the archivist, conveying one's passion and the importance of one's research—even if a certain problem has not yet been settled upon. Enthusiasm is contagious. An intellectually engaged archivist is one who is willing to go the distance with a researcher. The fact that a researcher has committed the resources to travel and conduct archival research indicates that he or she is well positioned to take the next step.

Contact the repository well in advance of a research visit—multiple times, if necessary. Know the rules of engagement. Observe the usual courtesies and conventions. Get off to a good start. Do not be coy about the topic of research. Outline as much as is known at the current stage. Describe the research and what is being sought in the collection. Archivists are in the information business. Most archivists like this kind of dialogue. Give examples of citations that seem promising or were recommended by others. If there is an example of what kinds of documents are of interest, scan it and send it to the archivist. A picture is worth a thousand words. Upon seeing the document, the archivist may immediately recall similar material. These suggestions will help the archivist get on the right track.

Archivists may not necessarily think like political scientists, especially quantitative-minded political scientists. Campaign polls or demographic information related to redistricting may be immediately recognizable data, but qualitative material may not be conceived of as data by an archivist. For instance, the committee assignment request letters used by Frisch and Kelly (2006) appear as qualitative data (letters) but were rendered by them as quantitative data. That is an easy leap for a political scientist but may not be so easy for an archivist. Keep this in mind: Be ready to demonstrate how such ubiquitous material as issue mail, committee memos, and personal correspondence can be transformed into usable data. Kelly and Frisch's experience is a good example. In their work on voting in the Republican Committee on Committees, the data appeared as "scraps of paper" to the archivist. At one point, as Kelly coded the votes over three days, the archivist turned to him and said, "I always wondered if those

were of any use.” For the first time, researchers were able to completely pry open the black box of the committee assignment process. Thinking in terms of data sets or parts of collections that could be rendered quantitatively requires a recalibration of an archivist’s knowledge of collections. Archivists will get there once they see what works and what does not for a given project.

Ask to speak with the archivist or librarian who is most familiar with the collection (or collections) that is relevant to the research subject. In the best case, this is the person who processed the collection. The person who processes the collection has a bird’s-eye view of the material and is thus intimately familiar with it. However, as is often the case, collections may be processed by student interns or temporary archivists. To compound the “knowledge of collections” problem, reading rooms are often staffed by paraprofessionals or students who may know little about the material a researcher wants (and may care less). One should make sure that one is talking to the person who is best able to help with the research.

Providing reference is not only an art and a science, it is a partnership. It is useful for an archivist to know if a researcher is new to archival research and about search strategies that were dead ends. For an archivist, knowing what *not* to look for is as helpful as knowing what is sought. A scholar has license to roam. Feel free to ask questions. How was the material put together? Are the labels and descriptions reliable? Was the material deposited serially or as a whole? Find out about the background of the collection, how it came to be, and what gaps may exist. None of these confounding factors may be reflected in the finding aid, particularly if the collection was processed more than fifteen years before.

Archivists and librarians are in the business of making connections among collections, other repositories, and other people. Is the donor still alive? Would the donor be willing to speak with a researcher? Is the collection split or shared with another repository? What other repositories in the area hold similar collections? Ask about material that may not be donated anywhere but may be relevant to the project. Archivists can open up a

whole world beyond archives. They may be able to put a researcher in touch with key campaign and office staff or family members; help locate local government and business records; facilitate access to collections held by nonprofits, churches, and private individuals; or connect a researcher to other scholars who are conducting similar research.

Researcher-archivist relationships may span one's entire research career. For instance, our friendship goes back a number of years. Kelly contacted Whitaker, who was processing the papers of Senator Dennis DeConcini, to inquire about the existence of Senate committee request letters that might be in DeConcini's papers. Whitaker suspended her processing to locate a potential box in the sprawling collection and processed the letter and other material to make them available within weeks.²

Even if the archivist does not offer, ask for an exit interview to discuss how the visit went and what directions future visits may take. More than likely, the archivist will inquire about the progress of the research more than once. The interest is sincere, and archivists will listen carefully as a researcher recounts his or her findings. Remember, a tremendous amount of labor (salaries) went into arranging these collections, and significant resources (space, shelving, climate control) are continually invested in them. Archivists are gratified to learn about researchers' successes. Many also report to their boards and administrators the quantitative outcomes (i.e., the number of scholarly publications) resulting from the research that is done in the collections.³ So, stay in touch. The reward will be unexpected dividends, such as notices that the repository has something new, reports of a lead that should be followed, or a key document that was found after a researcher's visit and is now sent as an e-mail attachment.

MAKING TRAVEL PLANS

The most important decision to be made is how many days to invest in the trip. Investing too many days means wasting time and money. If one is

married, partnered, and/or has a family, the time is at least as important as the money. Failing to budget enough time causes frustration and can actually cost more money (the costs of a return trip). Experience helps, but on a first trip—or a second or third—the researcher's best ally is the archivist. Get an estimate of the amount of material and ask for the archivist's estimate of how many days might be needed to get through them. Be sure to ask about the size of the boxes. Standard file boxes, which can hold thousands of pages, are substantially larger than archival document boxes, which hold seven hundred to nine hundred pages. If one is told there are ten boxes, for example, knowing the type of box is an important detail. A researcher may also be offered access to unprocessed material. If that is the case, navigating those boxes could easily take twice the time.

Before going, do some research into the other collections at the repository as well as other nearby locations. This is useful for two reasons: (1) collections may be found in the area that bear on the topic, and (2) if extra time is available, it may be worthwhile to poke into these collections to see if there is useful material.

Whether a researcher has university or repository funding or is personally underwriting the trip, the research is probably being done on a shoestring. Budgeting is important. In the sections that follow, we try to consider all of the costs a researcher might face.

TRAVEL

Carefully consider the most economical way to get to the destination. If the distance is significant, flying is probably the only option. However, look carefully at whether driving to closer locations makes sense. First and most important, does the funding source allow reimbursement for mileage? Many do not. If the funding source does not cover mileage, a researcher will be on the hook for the gas and wear and tear on his or her car. Some destinations are expensive to fly to (smaller towns, for instance); it may be more economical to fly to a nearby airport and take a train or

bus or even rent a car and drive (which adds mobility at the location, but do not forget the costs and logistics of parking on campus!).

Do not forget to factor in the costs of ground transportation. It will be necessary to get back and forth to the originating airport or train station and to pay for parking; it will also be necessary to get back and forth to the station at the destination. If it is not possible to stay within walking distance of the repository, figure those ground transportation costs in, too.

LODGING

Many repositories list lodging and other visitor information. This information, however, is not always up to date. Note that “closest” and “cheapest” could mean thin walls and a lumpy bed—the cost savings may not be worth several nights of poor sleep. Check with archival staff to get “insider” information about where to stay. Remember, they live there; they will know how far hotels are from their repositories and may have some insight about the quality of accommodations. Archivists understand traveling on a tight budget and tight schedules. Because research may take one to communities far from cities, do not hesitate to contact the repository. Generally, the staff will be friendly and eager to provide information that may save time and money. Some institutions may provide on-site, inexpensive rates, but one needs to ask. During the summer, many campuses rent out dormitory rooms to researchers; this can be an economical and convenient option (though we are not sure we recommend the food!).

REPOSITORY FEES

Factor in repository fees at the front end when planning a budget and/or applying for funding, regardless of the source. Photocopying and image reproduction fees vary considerably among repositories. These are usually listed on the archives website. Do not expect to find bulk discounts.⁴ A good rule of thumb is that if the material looks pertinent or the image fits,

get it then and there. Chasing it long-distance will be expensive; returning to get it will be even more expensive. Archivists understand that time is money. Reproductions take time and are rarely free. Let the reading room staff know when the visit will end so that they can plan accordingly.

MISCELLANEOUS EQUIPMENT COSTS

Some other costs are worth taking into consideration. These are one-time costs for equipment and materials that will be used repeatedly. A laptop is useful for many applications. If a digital camera will be used (where allowed), procure a good one (10 megapixels minimum) with multiple rechargeable batteries and plenty of secure digital storage. A spare hard drive will also likely come in handy. Each image from a 10-MP camera takes up about 4 MB of hard drive space; a laptop hard drive will be filled up quickly at that pace. The external hard drive is a convenient place to back up one's hard (and expensive) work collecting all of those images. A tripod that allows the camera to be pointed down at a 90-degree angle is also useful; holding a camera while taking hundreds or thousands of photos can be painful.

SEARCHING FOR FUNDING

By now, the mantra should be clear: The limiting factors in archival research are time and money. There is never enough of either. Perhaps the most practical concern of congressional scholars and other scholars interested in archival research is money. Many congressional archives have funding available to support travel to the archive and related expenses.⁵ Usually, funding is contingent on the researcher having a clear idea about what he or she is looking for, explained in a short essay, and whether the holdings in the archive contain information relevant to the research project. This is where a strong research design helps. It is important to be able to explain what one is looking for so that the archive has a better idea about if and how its resources can benefit a scholar's research.

If the archive has a website—many do, and the number is growing rapidly—check for finding aids that provide a somewhat detailed index to the contents of the collection to determine if it has materials that can aid in the research. Small repositories may not have the funds or technical infrastructure to post finding aids on the Internet. Most will charge for the duplication of and postage to mail hard copies. They may not be able to take credit cards. Be prepared to send a check and wait for delivery by postal mail. A conversation with the archivist will help narrow the pages that are needed. If there is a fixed dollar amount available to spend, that is not a problem. Repositories will copy up to that amount upon request.⁶

Do not hesitate to contact an archivist at the repository and explain the project. This has two benefits. First, one can get a better idea about whether the archive will be useful to one's research. Second, making contact with an archive that may be funding one's trip will give one's grant application a higher profile in the selection process. It may help to "sample" a promising folder or two by requesting a few documents before committing to a visit. For a fee, archivists may photocopy or scan a few pages for review. Be sure to mention in a proposal that contact has been made and that the archive has the relevant data. Appropriate background preparation, combined with the fact that very few scholars (especially political scientists) use these archives, means that an application has a very good chance of being approved. These stipends vary from a few hundred dollars to more than a thousand dollars.

Sometimes the costs of travel and document duplication (which varies from ten to fifty cents per page) and postage exceed the available stipend.⁷ In these cases, internal university funding is perhaps the most convenient source of funding. Most universities have small grant programs for faculty; larger graduate institutions offer small amounts of funding for graduate student research. For graduate students, these small grant awards offer an excellent opportunity to simultaneously hone grant-writing skills and build a vita. For early-career professors, such grant awards are a good way to demonstrate immediate success to the department and administra-

tion while waiting for the slow wheels of the journal machine to begin to provide more evidence of research accomplishments.

Consider some other creative ways of underwriting archival trips—for instance, combining research trips with trips to professional conferences, for which many universities offer funding. While in town for the conference, make use of a local collection or rent a car to drive to a nearby repository. Some researchers have been known to combine family visits or parts of vacations with detours to useful collections.

BOOTS ON THE GROUND

So much for the warnings and admonitions. What does the actual experience feel like? At first, archival research is intimidating. It is nerve-wracking. It is full of promise and the possibility of being less than successful. Archival research is also intellectually stimulating and exciting; all of the authors included in this volume agree on this point. Here is another mantra: Do the homework. Arrive prepared for the initial foray. We have said it before and we will say it again. One measure of success in archival research is finding the material one needs. The real proof of success, however, is whether one makes second, third, and fourth trips to archives.

EXPECTATIONS

Archival research is more physically and mentally demanding than might be expected. Sitting and/or standing in a reading room for eight hours puts strain on the body. Reading (or at least skimming) hundreds or thousands of pages per day, mentally straining to determine the logical structure of the papers and to extract the meaning of the huge volume of the material that is embedded in the broader context of the collection, is mentally fatiguing. Think about it: a researcher is trying to make sense of written

material that, in real time, developed over the course of months and years. It is difficult work that requires stamina and focus.

Whether it is a first visit to an archive or a one hundredth visit, keep personal expectations low. Be prepared for the differences between the folder title that can be seen online and what is found in the reading room.⁸ The title will give no indication regarding bulk (or lack thereof) or the type of print material that is included, and it may not even reflect the actual content. All researchers want to find that one document or that one folder that proves their case. Let us be realistic: despite what is shown in the movies or on television, there are no smoking guns; there is no single source that will allow one to crack the “da Vinci code.” Sometimes there will be material that is very useful, even revelatory, but it is also possible that there will be less than might be hoped. If a folder is particularly disappointing, there may be reasons for it, especially if the original folder labels have been retained. (What made sense to the original records filer may make no sense to the researcher or the archivist.) Further, there may be no consistency for how certain materials were filed. If frustration sets in, ask the archivists for assistance. They are pattern-recognition experts. Meanwhile, keeping expectations low ensures that they will almost always be exceeded.

Request material commensurate with the time that is available. Archival research cannot be done hastily or sandwiched between other appointments. In the beginning, the first few boxes will likely take longer to work through than one has estimated. Early on, one is trying to wrap one’s head around the structure of sets of records that were created by others and arranged by others; two boxes may take from two to four hours. Do not worry. Speed will pick up as one develops a feel for the structure of the collection and as document recognition improves.

Request the most promising boxes first. This may seem banal advice, but there is a strong inclination to proceed through the collection chronologically or by series. This tactic may not always be appropriate (although

sometimes it is). Let the research design, not the structure of the collection, dictate the approach.

Research is a process. It is fluid. Be flexible regarding the methodology. Be open to suggestions to look at material other than what was originally requested. Personal collections, marketing research materials, nonprofits, newspaper archives, quirky in-house databases, oral histories, film, and personal interviews are a parallel universe that holds the promise of untapped data. A researcher is limited only by his or her imagination to use it.

Be sure to take breaks. Archival research is mentally and physically taxing. Get up and stretch, walk around, and get a drink of water. Because of limited time and the fascination one forms for the collection, one is apt to postpone breaks or skip lunch. Some repositories close for a lunch hour, forcing one to stop. If there is not an enforced lunch break, one should impose it on oneself. Without breaks, one will likely develop a headache, become cranky, and lose one's mental edge. None of this helps the research. It may seem like silly advice, but all of the authors (and the archivists) in this volume endorse it. These are lessons learned during hundreds of days and thousands of hours conducting archival research. The contributors to this volume know firsthand that inadequate rest, hydration, and caloric intake can take their toll.

At the end of each day, take a few minutes to jot down thoughts, ideas, and reactions. These notes can help chart future research or identify potential publications or presentations in the near term. It may help a researcher to communicate more clearly with his or her coauthor, mentor(s), or thesis committee about the directions his or her research might take or how archival materials might be used in the classroom to illustrate a point.

SECURITY

Archivists take the stewardship of their collections seriously. A major responsibility is to insure that collections remain intact and available to researchers well into the future. Most archives will prohibit backpacks, briefcases, and even personal papers, notebooks, and the like in reading rooms. The vast majority of repositories allow laptop computers in the reading room, but be prepared to open the laptop on entry and exit to prove that no documents are present.

Most rules are security measures intended to protect against the theft or damage to rare, unique, or fragile materials. The highly publicized case of former national security advisor Sandy Berger, who tried to purloin papers from the records of his work during the Clinton administration from the National Archives, illustrates the most extreme concern for archivists: theft. The more realistic concern, however, is that documents will mistakenly find their way into a researcher's personal materials and disappear. The archival book stacks and storage areas are routinely closed to researchers and are accessible only by staff.

Upon arriving, a visitor will be asked to complete a researcher application, provide local contact information, and provide identification. If it is an option, fill out the paperwork and send it to the repository before arrival. This will minimize the initial "administrivia" at the beginning of the visit, creating more time to spend talking with the archivist and getting into the papers. There may be any number of additional precautions imposed or forms to sign that indicate the rules have been read and understood. Do not fight it; just do it.

Security procedures at the National Archives are the most extensive one will find (in part because of the Sandy Berger incident and in part because of post–September 11 security concerns, but who knows what the *National Treasure* movie series has added to that general concern about security!). Be prepared to invest at least an hour during the first trip to complete the researcher application process and self-paced NARA researcher training.

Bring only what is absolutely necessary. Each piece of electronic equipment will be documented and any papers a researcher has when he or she leaves will be searched page by page.

HANDLING THE MATERIALS

Each reading room will have rules about how documents should be handled. Typically, the archive will limit the number of boxes researchers can request at any given time. Most will require that researchers work with one box at a time and that only one folder at a time be removed from a box. Keep documents flat and on the table. Keep them away from the edges of the table to avoid the embarrassing and potentially destructive possibility that the papers spill onto the floor. No repository with which we are familiar allows pens in the reading room—pencils only. Gloves are required for handling photographs, but some repositories will insist researchers use gloves for all print materials. If a researcher is rough, careless, or does not heed warnings, he or she may be asked to leave or barred from returning. This is rare, but it does happen.

REPRODUCTION

Most archives allow some form of reproduction of their materials for use by researchers. Photocopying is typically allowed. Some repositories allow researchers to use equipment unsupervised. If this is the case, determine the repository's guidelines for handling materials that are stapled, paper clipped, binder clipped, or oversized. Staff are protective of their materials, and each repository has different ways of dealing with these issues. For instance, at the Reagan Presidential Library, the staff insists on removing staples and clipping documents together; the Carter Presidential Library does not follow this convention. When doing self-service copying, carefully note the location (collection, series, box, and folder numbers) on the copies as they are made. This step is vital for citing documents in research and critical if a researcher needs to return to a particular point in

the collection. Asking archivists to retrace one's steps after the fact will not win one friends.⁹

Other repositories require that staff copy materials. There are certain advantages to this. First, time not spent at a copier is time one can spend working with the papers; copying can be dull work if hundreds or thousands of pages are involved. Second, standing at a copier can induce some of the most mind-numbing backaches one will ever experience. Third, repository staffs typically do an outstanding job of documenting the source of each document. If staff will copy the materials, provide very clear guidance about which pages should be copied. There is nothing worse than doing all of that hard work and then getting home to find that a critical document is missing.

Up until recently, photocopying, at the rate imposed by the archive, was the only option for researchers. Some repositories now provide scanners for the use of researchers or will scan and send documents via e-mail. Many repositories (NARA included) allow researchers to use digital cameras. Ask first and be familiar with the repository's specific policy. Most will not allow the use of flash, so ensure that an adequate light source is available. Documenting the source of material when using a digital camera is particularly important. Remember to take a picture of each box and folder a document comes out of; "tagging" photos using photo organizing software—such as Picasa™, which is free—will help one locate photos quickly.

Keep in mind that having a copy of a document does not make one the "owner" of the intellectual material. Classroom and thesis use meets the Fair Use Act¹⁰ criteria, but be careful how the material is reproduced and distributed, especially when posting it to the Internet. There is nothing a university counsel (or personal legal counsel) will appreciate more than keeping the institution out of an intellectual property rights lawsuit.

TAKING NOTES OR MAKING COPIES

Efficiencies are in the eye of the beholder. Taking notes may save copying costs, but it takes more time. If one is a note taker, one should take more notes than what one deems necessary. When one is engaged with the papers, one often does not have a complete idea of what material will end up being used or how the notes will shape one's thinking and the intellectual development of the research. Taking broad notes can provide much value later during analysis and writing. Identifying documents to copy now and read later may save time, but it will not necessarily save money. Choose wisely.

If a researcher is visiting multiple repositories and using multiple collections, citations become critical. It is easy to get lost on the research road. This bears repeating: The biggest mistake new researchers make is failing to note where the document is located. The finding aid front matter will often state the preferred citation for the collection. Many researchers waste valuable time retracing steps to confirm box and folder numbers.

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS: HIDDEN COLLECTIONS

If a scholar is planning archival research, then he or she is already pushing the envelope within the discipline of political science. Once the basic challenges and risks have been accepted, one may be prepared to go a step further, especially after a successful series of first visits—into the unprocessed collections that may or may not be found in catalogs or on websites. Some seasoned archival researchers (e.g., historians) say it takes twice as long to navigate unprocessed collections. They will use them as a last resort if it is critical to their project. However, getting access to unprocessed collections can result in new information that leads to a journal article, an invitation to present a paper at a national conference, or a breakthrough in research. There is a trend nationwide to make unprocessed collections available.

Citations for unprocessed, partially processed, or minimally processed collections are tricky. The trade-off for accessing “hidden” or relatively unknown material in the pursuit of fresh data is grounding that new information with a reliable citation. Ask the archivist how to cite these collections because box and folder numbers may not be known, an official title to the collection may not have been given, the physical location of the collection may change, and only an acquisition number may exist.

Look beyond traditional print sources. Speeches, hearings, press conferences, guest appearances, panel discussions, and town hall meetings may be captured on radio and television tape. If this is of interest and the material is noted in the finding aid, ask if it is possible to view it. If the repository does not have the equipment, ask if it can be transferred to a CD or DVD. Most archives will have access to a vendor or may even do it themselves. Note that researchers will often be asked to pay the costs of digitizing these older formats.

RESTRICTIONS AND RESTRICTED COLLECTIONS

Most finding aids will state restrictions up front. Be sure to fully understand these restrictions. Nothing would be more frustrating than to make the effort to visit a collection and find a critical component closed for use.

Archivists try to limit restrictions. Most will not accept collections with undue restrictions. If restrictions are allowed, there should be a specific end date. Repositories usually have a policy for removing restrictions, though there is no guarantee that access will be granted. Archivists have been known to approach donors and other repositories to change deeds of gift. If possible, try approaching the donor directly. Explain the nature of the research and the materials that are of interest. Kelly has found that former politicians are more wary of journalists—who may wind up embarrassing the donor—than of academics with legitimate intellectual interests (the reasoning perhaps being that nobody reads academic writing anyway!). In Kelly’s experience, the vast majority of direct requests are

granted. An upshot of this approach is that the donor may take a legitimate interest in a researcher's work and grant an interview.

Federal agencies such as NARA and presidential libraries post information about the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) process. Here is fair warning: This takes time. If a project depends on access, a researcher will have to mount a very persuasive case. Otherwise, he or she will be at the end of a lengthy queue. For instance, Kelly submitted a FOIA request to the Clinton Presidential Library in 2007. As of this writing, he is still waiting to gain access to the requested documents.

DISTANCE RESEARCH

It can be risky, but every researcher tries distance research at least once. It works best if the staff knows the researcher and the project. On average, four e-mail exchanges are required before items can be pulled. E-mailing an example of what one is looking for (if there is one) is particularly useful.

Most repositories post a time limit (usually thirty minutes) to search for the material a researcher wants before a research fee is charged. Then the meter starts ticking. A premium is often placed on photocopying, shipping and handling, and so on. According to Whitaker, researchers invariably ask, "So, what's in there? How much material is it?" The answer will be a quick appraisal and guesstimate. Because a researcher is dealing with a non-field expert, he or she runs the risk of running up a significant tab and gathering quantities of superfluous material which may not yield the desired information.

In some cases, it may be possible to hire a local researcher to help with research. For their work on committee assignments, Frisch and Kelly hired a history graduate student at Indiana University to work through an unprocessed congressional collection to locate committee assignment request letters. They contacted the chair of the department and asked him to broadcast the opportunity to graduate students. Several responded, and

one was particularly enthusiastic. The authors used the history department because political science graduate students are not trained for archival research (hence this book); they may not even know that their university has important congressional papers collections.

OTHER RESEARCHERS

Ask if other researchers have used this material in the same way or if they are exploring the same topic. There is synergy when researchers are connected to one another. This requires a balance between promoting collegial exchange and preserving privacy and confidentiality. Many archivists will contact researchers and ask permission to use their contact information for other researchers who follow.

If one knows that another researcher has used the collection for similar purposes, one should share this information with the archivist. Repositories maintain a record of researchers and the boxes that they have accessed. By returning to that record, the archivist may be able to go directly to boxes that are of interest in this case. For their work on Senate committee assignments, Frisch and Kelly discovered that letting the archivist know about previous research in the Richard Russell papers resulted in the archivist quickly locating the materials that they were looking for.

There is one last thing: archives and archival research can be just plain fun. The scholar is on walkabout—off campus and away from home—free to test his or her research mettle, make mistakes, and share discoveries. Although it requires focus and discipline, there is a certain freedom to exercising a brain unrestrained by lectures, secondary sources, and thesis committee members. The added bonus is that archivists provide a ready audience for researchers' ideas, observations, and responses to the materials they have pulled. The feeling of pure joy and personal satisfaction that comes with discovery may be rare and may be fleeting, but it is a common event in reading rooms. Why deny oneself the experience?

CONCLUSIONS

A carefully planned trip is critical to success in archival research. Part of being prepared is developing a strong research design. We assume that our readers will be fine in that department. Like any successful military campaign, a research strategy must be well planned and well executed. From getting to the repository to “living” there and making the day as productive as possible—that is where we hope this chapter has helped to identify the fine details of the trip. Be sure to go over the particulars carefully. Do the homework (working through the finding aid, communicating with the archivist, knowing the policies of the archive, and the like), and the first trip will be a breeze, and subsequent trips will be productive too.

If one is fortunate enough to be located near a political papers collection, try doing a “dry run” using an interesting, if not appropriate, collection. At a large university, visit the special collections department to get a feel for the ambience of the reading room. Request and look through a few boxes. Although the protocol for calling boxes will not be the same at every institution, they are usually similar. Talk with the archivist. Tell the archivist what the intent of the visit is and let him or her know one is trying to learn. Chances are he or she can provide some advice.

Archivists are not “dataheads” (like many political scientists), but they can be educated and they can adapt. The stewards of congressional collections want to convince researchers of the value of archives. They believe that archives, and these collections in particular, hold pure potential for the scholar with an open mind. Political papers are underutilized. They are voluminous, sometimes disorganized, and in some cases a challenge. They are an acquired taste. But for those scholars who use them and for those archivists who take care of them, these collections are a limitless source of fascination and knowledge.

The prospect of political scientists flocking to archival research as new users has the potential to revitalize both professions. Most archivists like to teach. This offers real opportunities to guide scholars early in their

careers. (Veteran users of archives tend to resist suggestions and, based on our observations, become more rigid over time.) The opportunity to provide classroom instruction for graduate students in political science, the chance to work collaboratively on books and presentations, and the option of assisting with data collection is not only intellectually stimulating, it also improves archival practice.¹¹

To help with planning, use the budget and travel tools on the next couple of pages. Good luck!

ENDNOTES

1. What are the worst-case scenarios? The repository is unable to locate the collection, or the requested folders are missing. The repository is closed on the day one arrives. The repository has succumbed to a natural or unnatural disaster.
2. See chapter 2. What Whitaker and her colleague Rebecca Hankins did was contact Senator DeConcini to see if he would change the deed of gift to allow researchers access to his largely unprocessed collection. His response was quick and positive, resulting in a modification that took less than a month to complete. (Note that the original deed of gift took nearly a year to craft and negotiate.) In the archives world, this is the equivalent of moving heaven and earth. It is also proof positive that deeds of gift can be changed, particularly if donor relations are good.
3. As a fine example, the Rockefeller Archives Center provides yearly reports of scholarly output based on the use of its collections.
4. Fees are designed, among other things, to discourage mass reproductions of archival material. Repositories are not in the business of populating personal libraries or other archives with their collections.
5. The Albert Center, the Dirksen Center, and the Ford Presidential Library all have travel grants. Several other collections also offer funding, such as former representative Morris Udall's (D-AZ) collection and former representative Claude Pepper's (D-FL) collection, for example. For a more complete listing, see the Society of American Archivists Congressional Papers Roundtable site: <http://www2.archivists.org/groups/congressional-papers-roundtable/grants-and-fellowships-1>.
6. Reproduction fees for print materials are not money-makers for repositories. The fees typically cover the costs of paper, the maintenance of copying machines, and in some cases, the rental fees of the equipment.
7. One of the authors confesses to avoiding postage costs by packing an empty suitcase and filling it with photocopies. We recommend including this suitcase as a part of carry-on luggage rather than risking having one's hard work misdirected to Boise (unless, of course, the researcher lives in Boise!).
8. The differences between the virtual representation and the tangible item cannot be overstated. See E. Yakel and D. Torres. 2003. "AI: Archival Intelligence and User Expertise." *The American Archivist* 66(1): 51–78.

9. Yes, it can and has been done, but do not expect the same enthusiasm and interest for this task compared to the initial searching effort.
10. “Fair use” is poorly understood by scholars who are used to free and unlimited access to information. To be published without consequences, know the legal guidelines. Cornell’s Copyright Information Center (<http://www.copyright.cornell.edu/>) offers an excellent tutorial, has a separate section for faculty and staff, and provides a clearance services page for users.
11. Rudy Espino, assistant professor of political science, Arizona State University, has used the reading room at the Arizona Historical Foundation as a “laboratory” for data collection, giving students hands-on experience with rare, fragile Arizona territorial documents. They tabulated and plotted votes along ideological lines. These data were used to compare the voting records of the territorial legislatures of Arizona and New Mexico.

APPENDIX A

Table 10. Budget worksheet

Item			Subtotals
Travel			
Air/train fare			
Ground transportation to/from local station			
Parking (if applicable)			
Ground transportation to/from lodging			
Ground transportation to/from repository			
Parking (if applicable)			
Subtotal Travel Cost			
Lodging	Days	Cost per day	
Subtotal Lodging Cost			
Food	Per diem	Days	
Subtotal Food Cost			
Reproduction costs	Estimated number of pages	Cost per page	
Subtotal Reproduction Cost			
Miscellaneous costs			
Internet connections			
Notebooks, pens			
Long distance phone charges			
Extra batteries/chargers			
Project total			

APPENDIX B

Table 11. Travel checklist

Laptop	
Mouse	
Camera	
Secure digital cards	
Tripod	
External hard drive	
All appropriate cables (camera, hard drive)	
Tripod	
Extra camera batteries	
Camera battery charger	
Digital voice recorder (for potential interviews on-site)	
Notepad	
Writing instruments (no pens in the archives!)	
Reading material (for time outside the archive)	
Comfortable clothing	

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